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Willis Carto and the American Far Right

George Michael

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gration to drive down the cost of labor, and, by doing so, impoverished native laborers. This orientation would later find parallels in Carto's populism.

The Return of Nativism: The 1920s

The historian Frank Mintz once observed that Liberty Lobby functioned as the transmitter of an ideological heritage that developed prior to World War II, and which drew its inspiration from such figures as Madison Grant, Henry Ford, Father Charles Coughlin, and assorted monetary populists and anti-interventionists.[11] The contemporary American far right has its roots in the 1920s. During that decade, race relations became troubled. Immigration from Europe declined, and during the First World War a large-scale migration of blacks from the rural South to northern and midwestern industrial centers occurred to meet the demands of the war.[12] A few years before, in 1915, the release of D. W. Griffith's critically acclaimed feature film, *The Birth of a Nation*—which lionized the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan—encouraged William J. Simmons to resurrect the Klan at Stone Mountain, Georgia, that same year. The 1920s witnessed a return to nativism, as evidenced by the fabulous growth of the "second era" Ku Klux Klan. As Mintz argued, it was this reaction to events in the 1920s that prompted the precursors to Liberty Lobby to make their appearance.[13] Although the second-era Klan attained great notoriety for its racism, it was in large measure a reaction to a massive influx of Catholic immigrants and a general fear of a diminution in status of native white Anglo-Protestants.[14] And like other right-wing movements that preceded it, the second-era Klan espoused a platform of moralism, as Christian fundamentalists filled much of its ranks. In fact, much of the renascent hooded order's harassment was aimed largely at native Protestants, whom they perceived as having lapsed morally.[15] The second-era Klan's rise was meteoric: it attained an estimated membership of somewhere from three to six million members. A form of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant nationalism swept the nation, and this movement eventually succeeded in greatly curtailing immigration. However, after a series of scandals and internecine squabbles, the group quickly fell into disarray and was a shell of its former self by the end of the 1920s.[16]

Around the same time, anti-Semitism entered the worldview of the extreme right in force when American industrialist and automobile magnate Henry Ford began a fiercely anti-Jewish campaign in his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*, which featured a series of articles titled *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*. Some historians suspect that Ford hired William Cameron, an obscure Canadian, to write the series. The series accused Jews of subverting the Christian underpinnings of American society and included reprinted sections from the notorious *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, the minutes of an alleged meeting of Zionist leaders who plan a fantastic plot to conqueror the world and enslave Gentiles. *The Protocols* is believed to be a forgery of a tract originating in nineteenth-century France, which described a purported Masonic scheme to take over Europe. Some historians believed that agents of the *Okhrana*, the Czar's secret police, appropriated the document and switched Jews for Masons as the culprits for the purpose of fomenting ire against Russian Jews for the role some of them played in revolutionary activities. The Baltic German and Nazi philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, brought *The Protocols* from Russia to Germany. From there the document made it to America and the rest of the world. *The Protocols* was apparently an inspiration for *The International Jew*, which influenced rightists throughout Europe, including the Nazis and Adolf Hitler. An admirer of Ford, Hitler awarded him in 1938 with a high honor from the German state: the Grand Order of the German Eagle. Moreover, Hitler was rumored to have a portrait of Ford on his desk at Nazi headquarters, the Brown House, and Ford was the only American mentioned by name in his tome, *Mein Kampf*.[17]

In essence, *The International Jew* was an Americanized version of *The Protocols*. The significance of Ford's series cannot be overstated, as it had a lasting influence on the American extreme right. More than any other book, it "brought together a generation of right-wing true believers, and material from this series of articles provided ammunition for most of the anti-Semitic agitation of the . . . last half century of American life."[18] *The International Jew* propounded a conspiracy theory, which implicated Jews in a plot to financially dominate the West. Ford attacked leading banking figures, such as Jacob Schiff, Otto Kahn, and the Warburg family. The Federal Reserve System was touted as the principal vehicle to achieve this end. The New York banking house of Kuhn-Loeb was accused of financially supporting the Bolshevik Revolution and the liquidation of the Tsar and the Russian royal family. In the area of culture, Ford accused Jews of polluting the arts through the promotion of jazz music.[19]

A compilation of the series was published as a four-volume set of books, also titled *The International Jew*. A single-volume condensed version was later released as well. The U.S. government did not intervene in this controversy and made no effort to censor or prohibit the dissemination of these publications. However, Jewish groups brought pressure to bear on Ford by organizing boycotts of his automobiles. Evidently, Ford felt very strongly about the issue because he endured substantial financial loss from this campaign. Eventually, Ford relented and issued an apology to Jews and retracted the content of the *International Jew* series. However, it is unlikely that Ford

- *A racial or ethnic component.* This characteristic can include racism, anti-Semitism, or xenophobia.

Although all the preceding characteristics may not pertain to each and every right-wing extremist group and figure examined in this study, enough of these characteristics apply to each of them so that they can reasonably be classified as "right-wing extremist."[1]

Commentators often use such terms as "extreme right," "far right," and "radical right" interchangeably. The British observer of the American right, Martin Durham, clarified the distinctions among these terms.[2] The far right consists collectively of both the radical right and the extreme right. The radical right has a long pedigree, as its ideological underpinnings can be traced in large part to the John Birch Society and the Minutemen organizations that gained notoriety in the 1960s. The militia movement is the most recent manifestation of this segment and gained much notoriety in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. Race creates a sharp delineation between the radical right and the more revolutionary segments of the extreme right. Race is integral to the extreme right, but less prominent in the radical right. In order to contextualize Willis Carto's place in history, a brief review of right-wing extremism in America prior to his involvement is in order.[3]

Right-Wing Extremism in the Early Republic

Several historians and observers cite the Anti-Masonic Party of the early-nineteenth century as the first right-wing reactionary movement in American politics.[4] The case of the Anti-Masonic Party is important because several commonalties between it and subsequent far right movements can be discerned. First, like so many right-wing movements that would follow, the Anti-Masonic Party grew out of the angst amid economic disruption and transition, in this case from a largely yeoman-based agrarian economy to a more commercially based economy. Accompanying economic change is usually the displacement of status and power of certain segments of the population. Fear of economic marginalization has been a recurring theme and catalyst for right-wing extremism, as observed by Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab.[5]

Second, a penchant for conspiracy theories to explain events was evident in the anti-Masonic movement as well. The anti-Masons were suspicious of the Freemasons, who figured so prominently in the American establishment during that era. Thus began the search for secret elite cabals which were alleged to be subverting American society. Anti-Masons believed their enemies were very powerful, which gave them the sense of being an embattled minority whose mission it was to spread the "truth" that they had uncovered.[6] Conspiracy theories involving Freemasons or other groups, such as "the Illuminati" or Jews, persist to this day. Like so many far right organizations that would follow, the anti-Masonic movement was in large measure a tract society that disseminated literature warning about the perils of its enemy. Related to this was the antistatist tradition: anti-Masons believed that the U.S. government was virtually under the sway of Freemasons, an observation not without some merit at the time. Moreover, Freemasons were accused of holding dual loyalties to a belief system outside the framework of the American government.[7] These themes would prove to be enduring elements in the annals of American right-wing extremism. Finally, religion loomed large in the anti-Masonic movement. Protestant ministers were in the forefront of exposing alleged Masonic machinations and sought to dissuade young men from joining the ranks of Masonry. Ultimately, like several other American far right movements, the Anti-Masonic Party was of brief duration. Although it attained considerable political clout (it was actually the first American political party to hold a nominating convention), its influence was short-lived. That said, it did accomplish much of what it set out to do. Many Freemasons were ousted from governmental positions and the order went into retreat and never regained the influence that it once had in the upper echelons of American society.[8]

Other movements subsequently designated as "far right" would follow. For example, a few decades later, the Know-Nothing movement arose as a backlash against an influx of largely Irish and southern German Catholic immigration. Thus emerged in force for the first time a powerful theme in the history of American right-wing extremism—nativism. Shortly after the American Civil War, the fraternal vigilante movement, the Ku Klux Klan, emerged in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee. This marked the first instance of large-scale right-wing terrorism in the United States. Their efforts demonstrated that at times terrorism could attain its desired effect, as white southerners eventually wrested political control from blacks and outsiders.[9] Although the original group has long been defunct, it has proved enduring as an inspiration for subsequent far right groups in the United States and abroad. By the late nineteenth century, still another movement arose with the emergence of the American Protective Association (APA). The movement enjoyed considerable support, and at one point had more than half a million members.[10] Like the Know-Nothing movement a few decades before, the APA targeted foreigners and Catholics. However, much of its animus was also directed at Jews, who began to emigrate en masse from Eastern Europe and Russia around the turn of the century. Echoing contemporary right-wing antiglobalists, the APA complained that elite capitalists encouraged immigovernment leaders and opinion-makers to declare war on Germany during World War I.

In some instances, *Right* sought to build bridges with Muslims and Arabs who were critical of Israel. For example, *Right* listed the address of the Palestine Arab Refugee Office as a source where readers could obtain accurate information on the Middle East conflict. Other sympathetic journals, including the *Islamic United Nations*, published by Gen. C. Ro. Atilhan in Turkey, and the *Middle East Forum*, published in New York, were listed as well.[40] The effort to reach out to like-minded Muslims extended intermittently throughout Carto's career. For example, in a major journalistic coup in 1992, *Spotlight* correspondent Andrew St. George (using the pseudonym Martin Mann) conducted an interview with Muammar Qadaffi, in which the Libyan leader denied any involvement in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland.[41] In 1994, the *Spotlight* carried an interview with Ahmed Huber, a Swiss convert to Islam, who was later accused by the Bush administration in 2002 of being a financial supporter of al Qaeda.[42] In 2003, Dr. Atahullah Bogdan Kopanski, a Polish convert to Islam, wrote an article for a Carto publication, the *Barnes Review*, which chronicled cooperation between the Third Reich and the Islamic world during World War II.[43]

The increasing hostility toward Israel was symptomatic of the creeping anti-Semitism in *Right*. Despite horrific revelations about the Holocaust, organized anti-Semitism persisted after the Second World War.[44] Furthermore, according to a study released by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), there remained vestiges of anti-Semitism in the U.S. Congress in the late 1940s.[45] To its prime readership, Liberty Lobby usually eschewed overt racial anti-Semitism. Jews qua Jews are not attacked; rather Jews as Zionists, plutocrats, neoconservatives, and liberals are criticized in Carto's organs. However, in an article written as an exposé, C. H. Simonds uncovered a private memorandum that Carto had written to himself in which he expressed his sentiments toward Jews:

> Who is using who? Who is calling the shots? History supplies the answer to this. History tells us plainly who our Enemy is. Our Enemy today is the same Enemy of 50 years ago and before—and that was before Communism. The Communists are "using" the Jews we are told . . . who was "using" the Jews fifty years ago—one hundred or one thousand years ago. History supplies the answer. The Jews came first and remain Public Enemy No. 1.[46]

As time went by, *Right*'s populist economic philosophy became discernibly critical of Jews. For example, Jewish international bankers were implicated in

conspiracies to control the economies of the Western world. European commercial interests were characterized as "satrapies of World Jewry." An editorial in *Right* described Hitler as "mad" yet commended him for conveying "to the financial powers of the world the shuddering possibility of a rational revolt against a system both irresponsible and evil."[47] More and more, *Right* provided a forum for adversaries of Jews. Benjamin H. Freedman, a convert to Christianity and sharp critic of the organized Jewish community, found a sympathetic voice in *Right*.[48] *Right* even published an essay by Nietzsche, "Touchstones of the Future," in which the German philosopher blamed Jews for promoting slave insurrections and the inversion of healthy values.[49] In order to alert its readers to the supposedly pernicious intentions of some Jews, *Right* once reprinted a purported statement (later proven to be fabricated) by Israel Cohen, an English communist; it appeared in his 1912 book, *A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century*, as evidence of a Jewish plot to defile the white race:

> We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension . . . . By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party . . . . In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negroes will be able to intermarry with whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause.[50]

In the countries of the West, Jews were accused of working doggedly to prevent the unification of the white race.[51] In particular, Jews were seen as the principal agents conspiring to "pollute" the United States by promoting racial admixture, while also seeking to maintain their own ethnic homogeneity.

Racial Issues and Civil Rights

More than any other issue, race figured prominently in the pages of *Right*. Many articles exhorted readers to remember that their first loyalty should be to the white race. Whites, it was enjoined, must move beyond petty nationalist and sectarian differences or else risk certain annihilation. It is noteworthy in this regard that *Right* was launched on the heels of the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* decision (1954), which sounded the death knell of legal segregation in the United States. Not surprisingly, *Right* voiced its opposition to forced integration. The newsletter supported segregationist organizations, such as the Christian Party, which was led by J. B. Stoner with Edward Fields serving as its chief secretary.[52]

Right became a forum for numerous racialist theorists incorporating ideas from various scholars who were popular during the 1920s, including Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, and Earnest Sevier Cox. Grant's most important work was *The Passing of the Great Race*, in which he asserted that Nordics were solely responsible for building the American nation and composed its leading stratum. He lamented what he saw as the de-Nordicization of America through immigration and racial admixture. Consequently, Grant advocated strict immigration laws that would exclude non-whites from entering the United States, as well as total segregation of Negroes within the United States or their deportation to Africa.[53]

Increasingly, racialist themes became less subtle in later issues of *Right*. For example, one article profiled Dr. Audrey M. Shuey, the chairman of the Department of Psychology at the Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia. Shuey wrote a book about racial differentials in intelligence titled *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*. *Right* proclaimed that the book "opened the door to a rational approach to the race issue, founded on the scientific fact of race inequality." The same article anticipated that the "ADL gestapo and allied subversive groups" would take every measure to suppress the study.[54]

Writing under the pseudonym of Edward Langford, Roger Pearson warned of the perils to the white race if miscegenation were allowed. Pearson saw race-mixing as a holdover of the Allied war propaganda of World War II and held that each race had attained it unique qualities through an extensive evolutionary process and should therefore be preserved.[55] Similarly, in his discussion of ancient Egyptian civilization, Bela Hubbard came to the conclusion that miscegenation ultimately was responsible for its decline. He pointed out that some of the Egyptian mummies had traces of blonde hair, thus suggesting that they were Caucasoids. Mixing with other races thus led to the destruction of a great race that built the pyramids.[56]

Robert Kuttner warned that the West practiced a form of altruistic racial suicide by advancing the interests of "rival races" at the expense of the white race. According to his analysis, the West allowed the "dark races" to practice "reverse colonialism" in that the former allowed the latter to assimilate its scientific and industrial innovations. Consequently, neutralist India developed an atomic research center; Red China maintained a large jet fleet; and Imperial Japan learned to construct submarines and cyclotrons in a single generation. As Kuttner saw it, industry and science had replaced military art as the key to international power. He further decried foreign aid programs through which the white community was "forced by compulsory charity to serve the Negroes' welfare." In Kuttner's estimation, blacks had historically played a parasitic role when residing in white civilizations. Viewed from this perspective, modern welfare policies were just another recent manifestation of parasitism that encouraged social irresponsibility and poor civic performance.[57] Not unlike Lothrop Stoddard decades earlier, Kuttner warned that demographic trends threatened the West as a distinct biological entity.[58] The demographic stagnation of the West and the demographic dynamism of the East together threatened to inundate the West with immigrants from Asia and Africa, who harbored "ambitious designs on the land and wealth of Caucasian peoples." Presciently, Kuttner predicted in 1960 that in fifty years there could be eight billion inhabitants on earth. According to Kuttner, demographics was a zero-sum game, that is, one population group would expand while another would contract due to finite resources in the world.[59] Carto once claimed to me in a conversation that Kuttner was actually an ethnic Khazar, though, not Jewish. This is interesting insofar as Khazars have often come under scorn by the extreme right (more on this group below).

Gerald Afanfryn-Hill, the overseas editor of the *Northlander* and a former jet pilot in the Royal Air Force, lamented a general trend in European history in which the concepts of nationality and race had been divorced. As he saw it, the introduction of feudalism led to a rupture between the race-nation and the state, as monarchs were no longer considered to be the fathers of their respective peoples; rather they became territorial lords. Afanfryn-Hill called for a return of nationality based on kinship and "common blood ties of a shared biological heritage," rather than "the accident of geographical location," and warned that European-derived peoples faced annihilation as a species unless they came to think in terms of "ethnic identity" and "pan-national concepts" which would enable them to "develop a world-wide bond between [their] own kind." For the past thousand years, he noted, Europeans had destroyed their own kind, while "other races [sat] back and laughed." In order to overcome this trend, he encouraged readers of *Right* to support the nascent Northern League and its journal, the *Northlander*.[60]

Although populist in orientation, *Right* occasionally carried articles that extolled aristocratic principles. For example, Ernest J. Granucci advocated a true European Union based on the aristocratic idea. According to Granucci, the essentials of the European aristocratic idea included race and its select corollaries—selection, tolerance, heroism, freedom, and world peace. In this racial society, he believed that the individual could attain his highest sense of fulfillment.[61] Similarly, an article by Anthony M. Ludovici decried the doctrine of equality and argued that a natural aristocracy was necessary to hold society together in any meaningful way. When the "common man" has his way, commotion results and society fragments into jealous factions.[62]

Under the *nom de guerre* "E. L. Anderson," Carto wrote an article called "The Reality of Race" in which he identified race as the most serious issue confronting the Western world. He mentioned the huge costs of racial integration in American schools, such as Washington, D.C. Racial integration in the U.S. military, he contended, was also an abysmal failure, citing the alleged "atrocious combat records of all-negro units in both world wars." Social services were another significant expenditure as well. Sounding an alarm, he warned of an expanding colored world that would soon send its unwashed masses to the West.[63]

The immigration issue was inextricably tied with race. *Right* recognized global demographic trends and the potential challenge they posed to the racial homogeneity of the West. Retired Major General George Van Moseley contributed an article in which he called for white solidarity in the face of the specter of non-white immigration and increased African American political power.[64] Dire warnings appeared in *Right*, which foretold a rapidly expanding Asian population that would eventually invade America. Not surprisingly, the newsletter was a staunch supporter of the McCarran-Walther Act, which restricted immigration into the United States. *Right* warned that presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson, were he to become president, would flood America with aliens.[65] During the 1960s, Liberty Lobby supported the American Committee on Immigration Policy, which was chaired by retired Rear Admiral C. S. Stephenson. The organization operated as a lobbying group and opposed legislation that would loosen U.S. immigration laws.[66]

The race issue also informed *Right*'s position on the inclusion of Alaska and Hawaii into the Union. *Right* supported the campaign of a businessman, Robert B. Snowden, to resist the induction of Alaska and Hawaii as American states.[67] A guest column by Drew L. Smith, the author of the booklet *The Menace of Hawaiian Statehood*, appeared in *Right*. In the column, Smith argued that America risked its future by embarking on a quest to establish a global empire, which included far-flung territories spread out across the globe. Although he also rejected the establishment of Alaska as an American state, Smith believed that incorporating Hawaii would be much worse. At least Alaska was located on the North American continent and, therefore, much closer to the continental United States. By contrast, Hawaii was separated by two thousand miles of the Pacific Ocean. Furthermore, he argued that the racial heterogeneity of Hawaii—what he referred to as "a veritable maelstrom of races"—could conceivably disrupt the cultural and racial stability of the United States. Smith lamented the demographic diminution of whites in Hawaii and saw the islands as more of an outpost of Asian, rather than European, civilization. Consequently, Hawaii would more than likely send elected members to Congress that would be ethnic Japanese—a prospect that Smith could not accept with equanimity. Such an expansion, Smith argued, would further the country's march to empire. He advocated that America remain a republic not unlike Patrick Buchanan counseled several decades later.[68]

Right feared the prospect that both senators of Hawaii could be of Asian descent, thus conceivably making the U.S. Senate more likely to overturn the 1952 Walter-McCarran law, which limited non-white immigration into the United States.[69] On numerous occasions, Carto personally testified against the admission of Alaska and Hawaii into the Union because they were non-contiguous.[70] Moreover, *Right* argued that most of America's troubles could be traced directly to voting blocs of aliens who had been granted suffrage. Consequently, the admission of those two states, with their sizeable non-white populations, would undermine national cohesion. An editorial in *Right* warned that the admission of Hawaii as an official state would have serious long-term implications that could lead to national suicide.[71] To be consistent, *Right* supported the cause of Puerto Rican independence.[72]

Religion

In addition to race, religion received considerable attention in the pages of *Right*. Christian fundamentalism has been an enduring theme in the history of right-wing extremism in the United States. For the contemporary far right, an obscure religious theology, Christian Identity, does much to bind the movement together. Christian Identity has no central ecclesiastical body, but rather is a very loose network of individual believers and small congregations. The religion has its origins in nineteenth-century England's "British Israelism," which posited that the peoples of northwestern Europe were the true descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Originally, the British movement was philo-Semitic in character, seeking to identify themselves as people kindred with the Jews. But eventually this sect found its way to America and metamorphosed into "Christian Identity." There are several variations in beliefs among Christian Identity adherents, and not all are anti-Semitic.[73] Many variants of this religion do, however, demonize Jews.

Carto allowed Christian Identity ministers to publish guest columns in the pages of *Right*. For example, an early contribution by J. A. Lovell, DD, in 1957, claimed that the prophets Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jacob's twelve sons, Moses, and David were not Jews. According to his reading of scripture, God's covenant with Abraham included people of Anglo-Saxon descent. Further, the twelve tribes of Israel were divided. Ten tribes were later sent to Assyrian captivity. After their release, according to Christian Identity historiography, they traveled the southern part of what is now Russia, stopping for long periods in the Crimea and in Greece, until they finally reached the promised land: Western Europe, including the British Isles. Some Christian Identity theologians maintain that contemporary Jews, as we know them today, are actually descendants of a long-lost Eurasian tribe—the Khazars—who converted to Judaism *en masse* in the eighth century. Anti-Semites, and occasionally some anti-Zionists, invoke this theory to reject contemporary Jewish ancestral claims to Palestine.[74]

Richard Kelly Hoskins, an important contributor to Christian Identity literature, was highlighted in *Right*. Hoskins wrote *Our Nordic Race*, which was a short racial history.[75] According to Hoskins, Nordics were the progenitors of the white race. As he explained, the various national groups of Europe—for example, the Dutch, Irish, English, and Scotch—were all part of the same race, and their members should identify with one another in order to meet the challenges posed by other races, namely, blacks and Jews.[76] Decades later, Hoskins wrote a book called *Vigilantes of Christendom* that attained popularity on the far right and was said to have contributed to the popularity of "leaderless resistance" in the movement. In the book, Hoskins offered his bizarre interpretation of historical events. According to Hoskins, throughout history righteous "Phineas Priests" have fulfilled a sacred role by assassinating those who have transgressed God's law.[77] Not long after the first publication of the book, several right-wing terrorists identified themselves as Phineas Priests and engaged in criminal acts, including robbery and terrorism.[78]

From what I can infer, Carto did not believe in the theology of Christian Identity. However, he found merit in some of its tenets in that it fostered white racial solidarity.[79] In 2007, he wrote an article defending Christian Identity, arguing that both the Catholic and Protestant denominations in contemporary America had failed to provide spiritual and moral guidance to their white followers and instead sought to attract non-whites to their flocks.[80]

Although *Right* generally supported Christianity, it allowed non-Christians to express their opinions as well. In an article titled "Can a Man be an Atheist and a Rightist at the same Time?" Charles Smith questioned why people of Northern European descent chose to identify with an "Asiatic Semitic mythology," that is, Christianity. Smith was the leader of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism and wrote a two-volume work titled *Sensim: The Philosophy of the West*, which was highly critical of Christianity. He suggested that it would be more appropriate for people of Northern European backgrounds to believe in Nordic mythology insofar as its legends originated from their own heritage. Furthermore, he criticized the universalistic aspects of Christianity and argued that this quality militated against the particularistic interests of the people of the West. In this respect, he concluded, Christianity had much in common with Communism in that both belief systems endeavor to create a unified world community. He believed that both concealed the individual and racial differences among men.[81] *Right* reasoned that Smith had confused all Christianity with "modernist" Christianity, which had distorted the original religion. Smith was also highly critical of the "Oneworld" (*sic*) religion, which found expression in the "UN, internationalism, communism, and mongrelization."[82] Evincing a strident anti-black sentiment, Smith advanced an ideology of "Qualism" to compete with the "equalism" espoused by the civil rights movement. Rejecting the efficacy of segregation, Smith advocated a gradual reduction and ultimate elimination of the Negro population. He built upon the critique of Christianity advanced by Earnest Sevier Cox (see below) and others, but was far more vitriolic in its denunciation.[83] Carto later said that Smith was instrumental in helping him publish Francis Parker Yockey's *Imperium*, which is discussed in chapter 7.

In the next issue of *Right*, another article by that very same title appeared by Verne P. Kaub, who argued that atheism and the right-wing worldview were incompatible. Although he felt rightists could align themselves with atheists in their shared opposition to statism and their professed love of freedom and individualism, Kaub nevertheless believed that atheists lacked Christian concepts that "are inseparable from the libertarian philosophy."[84] Kaub died in 1964 at the age of 80, while serving as the president designate of Liberty Lobby.[85]

Robert Kuttner posited that the introduction of Christianity was responsible for the decline of science and other intellectual fields of inquiry during the European Dark Ages. He was quick to point out that the Catholic Church did much to suppress the knowledge of great thinkers, including Bruno, Galileo, Bacon, Vesalius, Ascoli, and others. Likewise, he believed that there was an effort underway in contemporary times to suppress race science. However, he predicted that the more race science was suppressed, the greater the force behind it that would eventually spring out.[86]

Earnest Sevier Cox was best known for his books *White America* and *Teutonic Unity*, which postulated that Nordics had attained superiority vis-à-vis other races and sub-races through an evolutionary pruning process, which resulted from their early experiences in harsh cold environments and the Ice Age.[87] Prefiguring neo-pagans that would go on to have a significant influence on the far right, Cox argued that Christianity had distorted the martial qualities of Teutons. Not unlike the Church of the Creator, which was founded by Ben Klassen in 1973, Cox went so far as to categorize Christianity as a Jewish religion established by Jews for gentiles.[88] Instead, Cox recommended that whites develop a religious orientation that would instill a tribal consciousness not unlike Judaism. He conceded that it might be too late for the creation of an entirely new religion; therefore a form of "racialized Christianity" might suffice.[89] *Right* once lauded Cox as "the world's greatest living chronicler of the White race."[90]

Byram Campbell, the author of *World of Oneness* (1956), characterized the modern era as the "world of oneness" and termed this philosophy "monism." He traced all monist creeds to monotheism, which he assailed for its exclusivity, fanaticism, and emotionalism. As Campbell pointed out, the Egyptian Pharaoh Ikunaton (1375–1358 B.C.), who recognized the sun as god, was the originator of monotheism. Thus began the theology of "oneness." Later, Jews appropriated this concept and applied it to their deity, Jehovah. Even the ancient Greeks, whom the far right usually regards as racial exemplars, sought to discover a single unifying principle that would explain the essence of nature. Campbell believed that this monist ideology eventually was responsible for plunging Europe into the Dark Ages. Only with the emergence of the Renaissance did Western man finally begin to remove himself from the shackles of monism. However, monism eventually reared its head again in the guise of collectivism, most notably, Communism.[91] Furthermore, he contended that, by stressing the need for salvation and redemption, monotheistic faiths destroyed any sense of repose. In its stead, Campbell preferred polytheism or the religion of the Far East as alternatives to the Judeo-Christian faith that had informed the West. Not unlike Eric Hofer's attack on the "True Believer" syndrome, Campbell believed that monotheism inspired individuals with a craving to save the world by the espousal and application of universalistic dogmas. By adopting an intergroup morality that was deferential to minority interests, Campbell argued that whites were in a process of racial retreat.[92] According to Campbell, monists instinctively supported the group interests of minorities in order to foster "oneness." However, he impugned the morality of the monists and pointed out that the Communists (whom he considered to be exemplars of monism), when attaining power in Russia and China, followed with genocidal policies responsible for the deaths of millions.[93] Later, Campbell endorsed the eugenics of Kuttner's and Anderson's evolutionary ethics, or evotism, as a way in which to maintain the quality of the white race and avoid deterioration.[94] Campbell dedicated his book to Willis Carto for his efforts to build "a saner better society."[95] Returning the favor, *Right* lauded Campbell's book and his critique of monotheism.[96]

Perhaps the most controversial "anti-Christian" rightist featured in *Right* was an eccentric Australian, A. Rud Mills, who sought to resurrect the old Norse gods and counter the Judeo-Christian worldview. He called on whites to recognize Odin as their true god. Mills argued that Christianity had been an unmitigated disaster for the West and castigated the philosophy for disconnecting divinity from the natural world. As a result, Western man no longer approached God as a proud man, but rather as "a cringing dwarf, pleading for mercy for himself." Furthermore, he reasoned that Christianity encouraged men to neglect reality in the world. Mills accused the early Christians of appropriating the symbol of the hammer of Thor and modifying it as their Christian cross. By doing so, the erstwhile sacred Nordic symbol, which conveyed "strength, manliness, and pride," was transformed into a symbol of "suffering, shame and sorrow; in other words, from life to death." Not unlike the Nation of Islam's Elijah Muhammad's exhortations to blacks to rediscover their long lost true faith, Mills encouraged whites to rediscover their pagan roots. As he explained, by losing their authentic Norse God, whites had also lost their true source of strength. Furthermore, not unlike the Marxian notion of "false consciousness," whites recognized followers of another religion—Judaism—as the "Chosen People."[97] In that same issue of *Right*, an editorial chastised Mills for his criticism of Christianity. However, the paper defended its decision to print Mills's article so that it could illustrate how confusion might "arise when Christian leaders go off the deep end, repeal historic Christian doctrines, and begin advocating things which have as much place in true Christianity as a kleptomaniac in a jewelry store."[98] Over the years, Carto has maintained an association with other right-wing pagans, such as Else Christensen, the founder of the Odinist Fellowship.[99]

In the pages of *Right*, efforts to forge a new *weltanschauung* based on theories of evolution can be discerned. In that vein, Carto, using the pseudonym E. L. Anderson, wrote a series of articles titled "Cultural Dynamics" in which he propounded a system of thought based on evolutionary progress. He warned that an influx of "alien ideals and peoples" into a cultural unit would ultimately destroy it. To avoid this development, each cultural unit has a moral imperative to be true to itself and pursue its own destiny. In a way, Anderson was critiquing an incipient multiculturalism that he saw taking root in the late 1950s. Jews were identified as being in the forefront of the alien invasion. This stemmed from the fact that they supposedly identified themselves first and foremost as Jews rather than as members of the national community in which they resided. Drawing upon the imagery of Oswald Spengler, Anderson described cultural units as living organisms that go through a "life cycle of gestation, birth, youth, maturity, old age and death." He referred to this standard as "Evolutionary Ethics," or "Evotism."[100] In sum, the theory of cultural dynamics was strongly reminiscent of Yockeyism, which will be introduced in chapter 7.

In another article, Robert Kuttner outlined the foundations of his theory of evolutionary ethics. Kuttner praised Machiavelli, whose political theory he described as "the normal condition in a world filled with hostile powers." This state of permanent conflict called for separate ethical systems for the state and the individual. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution was defended insofar as it "subtracted ethics from biology." Progress was attained through the continual "slaughter of inferior organisms." Finally, Friedrich Nietzsche was heralded as the prophet of the Superman, who called for the creation of great men. Evolutionary ethics, as Kuttner declaimed, would allow the state to "control the biological composition of its future population" through such measures as "immigration quotas, criminal sterilization law," and a positive eugenics program.[101]

In order to ensure racial survival, *Right* exhorted whites to put aside their ideological, ethnic, and sectarian differences and work together to create a unified mass movement. This has been an enduring theme of Carto's organizing efforts. Toward that end, *Right* frequently devoted space to how this goal could be accomplished. This is the subject of the next chapter.

5

Uniting the Right

By the late 1950s, nativism in the United States had undergone a significant transmutation. Increasingly, the respectable right-wing eschewed openly racialist themes. The leading organs of the mainstream right, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the weekly *Human Events*, the monthly *Freeman*, and the publishing houses of Devin-Adair and Henry Regnery, had begun to support free enterprise and had moved away from populist or corporatist economic doctrine and would promote nothing in the tradition of Madison Grant or Lothrop Stoddard.[1] There were, however, two monthlies that gained popularity in the 1950s that continued to carry the racialist message. One of them—the *Truth Seeker*—had a long pedigree and commenced publication in 1874. The publication actually had an substantial left-wing readership within its small number of subscribers. By the mid-1950s, though, the monthly concentrated on openly racialist themes. The other monthly, *Right*, under the direction of Carto, blended race with other issues.[2] One of its principal goals was to forge a united conservative movement.

"How Will the Rightwing Get Together?"

Over the years Carto has worked steadfastly to unite the disparate elements of the far right. This was a major theme of *Right*.[3] Frequently, the newsletter carried articles penned by guest columnists titled "How Will the Rightwing Get Together?" Numerous right-wing luminaries proposed their ideas on how the right could work to pursue common goals. Out of this discussion came the idea of creating Liberty Lobby as an institution at which the disparate elements of the far right could converge.

In the fractious milieu of the American far right, unity has been an elusive goal. In an article in *Right*, Taylor Caldwell, a successful novelist, recounted a story that she had once heard from a nun when she attended Catholic school as a youth. In class, the nun took out a strong piece of rope and asked the strongest boys in the class to break it. Each tried and failed. As the sister explained, "wound together . . . the rope cannot be broken." However, she added that "alone each strand could be torn without [much] effort." Caldwell used this story to illustrate the need for unity in the American right wing. Toward this end, she believed that Liberty Lobby was the proper vehicle to achieve unity. By establishing an office in Washington, D.C., the proposed lobby could reach out to conservatives in both major parties and build support for the lobby's favored policies. In order to attain political success, Caldwell counseled that rightists must overcome their natural individualist inclinations and close ranks behind Liberty Lobby.[4]

Much of the discussion centered on strategy. In one article, William Stephenson lamented that the right wing always assumed a defensive posture vis-à-vis the political left, and, as a result, was usually in retreat. He concurred with the idea of creating a Liberty Lobby in order to establish "a beachhead on occupied territory," so that the right wing could take the fight to the enemy. As he proclaimed, the time had come to "take on the opposition in the middle of the ring, Washington, D.C."[5]

Numerous political strategies were proffered to mobilize the far right as a force with which to be reckoned. John Borden, a retired businessman, called for the creation of a new party that would be able to run a viable candidate for the presidency. He concluded that it was futile to try to reform the two major parties from the precinct level up insofar as the two parties control the election laws of nearly all of the states. Moreover, the two parties would prevent the nomination of enough "good patriotic candidates" that could "keep the traitors in Washington from leading [the country] down to international socialism and one world government under the United Nations." Borden wrote to several prospective candidates, including Senators Styles Bridges, William E. Jenner, Barry Goldwater, and Herman Talmadge, but none accepted his offer to lead the proposed "New Party" for the upcoming 1960 presidential election.[6]

Arguing against a strident approach, Logan G. Wilshire, a former chairman of the American Legion's Un-American Activities Committee, which investigated Communist activities in Los Angeles, counseled the right wing to abandon radical schemes that sought to "tear up our inherited political institutions by the roots and start all over again." Instead, Wilshire advised that rightists should get down to the business of practical political organizing. Political realism dictated that the radicals abandon grandiose plans "and give up delusions of grandeur," and that instead they should concentrate on getting "the vote out in their own backyards for somebody or something on the 'right' side of the fence." Furthermore, Wilshire argued that the dogmatism of the radicals alienated the respectable segments of the conservative right. Therefore, the radicals would be more effective by compromising some of their positions and working with the conservative majority of the right-wing.[7]

Not to be hamstrung by the pursuit of respectability, Lambert Schuyler, a self-described radical rightist, defended radicalism. As he saw it, the radicals were the innovators of the right wing, who had the temerity to point out serious problems that the conservative branch of the movement was afraid to address. Schuyler counseled that the radical segment should not be thrown overboard just to placate the conservatives. He believed that it was absolutely essential for the right to propagandize. To make his point, he cited, for example, how the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) had successfully promoted Negro integration and, to a lesser extent, miscegenation to white society. This was accomplished, he argued, because the ADL did not hesitate to boldly propagandize its agenda.[8]

How to best utilize limited resources was another important topic. Robert L. Wiseman believed that the right wing wasted manpower and money through duplication of effort. Therefore, he advocated the consolidation of power through the creation of a council that would amalgamate all patriotic organization at both the state and national levels. In this body, numerous right-wing organizations would be represented not unlike states in the U.S. Congress. An upper section, in the style of the U.S. Senate, would be composed of one representative from each organization, while a lower section, in the style of the U.S. House of Representatives, would allocate representation based on the size of the membership of assorted right-wing organizations. There would be no completely binding constitution or by-lays, and participating organizations would be allowed to secede if they so chose without fear of being blacklisted. An executive head would lead the council. Political action would be channeled through the newly created Liberty Lobby.[9]

Still others argued that an integrated approach that would allow for a multitude of organizations, yet narrowing the scope of their activism, could best promote the movement's goals. George E. Deatherage, a defendant at the Great Sedition Trial of 1944, pointed out both the strengths and weaknesses of unifying the American right wing. One argument in favor of having a large number of independent organizations was that they would be more difficult to silence than one, or several, large ones. Furthermore, the innate individualism of rightists militated against their cooperation and centralized leadership. On the downside, a lack of unity made coordination, liaison, and cooperation among organizations very difficult. He called the right wing's strategy the "shotgun approach" in that it focused its attention on a myriad of issues rather than on its primary interests. Instead, he recommended that the right reduce its scope of activities and concentrate on the issues about which it most cared. Furthermore, this approach would avoid a duplication of efforts. The best way to effect this strategy, he argued, would be through the creation of a general national organization. Until that day arrived, right-wing organizations should concentrate on their own particular specialties.[10]

One idea proposed was the creation of a coalition umbrella or federation.

A. B. Hawk, the executive secretary of the Common Good League, proposed the creation of a Right Relationship League, which would serve as a federation of like-minded groups. Each group would act as an independent unit, manage its local affairs, and contribute to what it deemed best to the League. Hawk saw this type of merger as the only type of body based on mutual self-interest that could endure. Each group would initially deposit a membership pledge and would receive a refund after it had enlisted another member to the body.[11]

In order to connect to a larger audience, it was suggested that the far right must compete in the realm of culture as well. Taking a page from the political left, Robert Kuttner argued that the political right should develop its own style of art as a way by which to recruit idealistic young people. As he explained, the nationalist project had a lot of positive emotional content that would be far more appealing than the "overly intellectualized art of the Marxist radicals, which by an impossible universalism tries to appeal to everyone." He called for a progressive art that would reflect the great traditions of Europe.[12] According to Kuttner, the American rightist movement was intellectually free-spirited and allowed for much diversity of opinion:

> Independent minds cannot reject the appeal of the Right. No iron dogma has destroyed the free play of ideas found among Nationalists. Groups that support laissez-faire co-exist with believers in a type of National Socialism. Southern traditionalists continue to foster the States-Rights doctrine and undeviating Constitutionalism in the same tolerant atmosphere which permits Nietzscheans to talk of centralized rule by eugenic elites. Even the highly suspicious Christian Nationalists maintain a polite silence when Racial Nationalists expound on the evidences of Atheistic evolution as explaining the superiority of one race over another. Isolationists rub shoulders with Imperialists and with firm believers in Caucasian world-hegemony. Deadly enemies of the United Nations concept exchange pleasantries with groups and individuals favoring extra-national confederations on racial lines. These instances of fellowship, of freedom of opinion, of broad tolerance, are irresistible lures to genuinely creative minds.[13]

Reaching out to the Right

Besides providing a forum for floating ideas on how to achieve unity, Carto made a concerted effort to establish operational ties with other organizations in the far right constellation. To be expected, Carto found common cause with the racialist segment of the movement. He once worked closely with Dr. Roger Pearson, a retired member of the British Army in India, who came to America in 1965. Pearson's organization—the Northern League—was a white racialist group that championed pre-Christian paganism and supposedly included former Nazi officials as members. Pearson merged his magazine, *Northern World*, with Carto's *Western Destiny* and became the editor of the new journal.[14] Carto arranged Pearson's first visit to the United States and introduced Pearson in the newsletter *Right* as "the world's foremost spokesman for the scientific and forward looking view of nationalism."[15] In its July 1958 issue, *Right* announced that the Northern League's journal, the *Northlander*, had been merged with Peter Huxley-Blythe's *World Survey*.[16] A few months later, *Right* heralded the opening of the first North American office of the Northern League. N. B. Holt was named the Local Organizing Secretary of the branch and Dr. E. L. Anderson (a pseudonym that Willis Carto occasionally used), described as a "brilliant retired professor," was mentioned as someone who would assist in organizational work.[17] *Right* proudly announced that the Northern League would hold its first worldwide gathering in July 1959, in the Teutoberger Forest in Germany, the site where the German tribal leader Herman (Arminius) defeated the Roman Legions of Varus in 9 A.D.[18] Herman was hailed as a true hero of the West in that his victory at Teutoberger put the Western world on a course that developed along Teutonic, rather than Latin, lines. By contrast, Varus, was described as a tyrant that sought to "enslave, latinize and mongrelize the people of Northern Europe." The lesson of this story was that the West must remain united. The principal threat working behind the scenes to break down the solidarity of the West was identified as "the grim monster of organized international Jewry." Three forces were listed as profiting from the decline of white world hegemony: international Communism, international Zionism, and international finance.[19]

While in America, Pearson pursued a career in academia. He once taught anthropology at Queens College in North Carolina and at the University of Southern Mississippi. Later, he would go on to become the dean of academic affairs at the Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology. In 1975, he left academia to become the founder and president of the Council on American Affairs. During his political career, Pearson worked with numerous representatives of the more respectable "new right" and served on the editorial board of several institutions, including the Heritage Foundation, the Foreign Policy Research Institute, and the American Security Council. Various mainstream conservative politicians wrote articles for some of Pearson's monographs and journals, including Senators Jake Garn (R-UT), Carl T. Curtis (R-NE), Jesse Helms (R-NC), and Representatives Jack Kemp (R-NY), and Philip Crane (R-IL).[20] Pearson was also an important figure in the World

Anti-Communist League (WACL). For his part, Carto had representatives in the WACL, including Donald Martin, Patrick Walsh, and Ivor Benson, who worked as British, Canadian, and South African correspondents respectively for the *Spotlight*.[21]

Instructive of Carto's desire to reach out to a wide assortment of rightists was his association with Savitri Devi. At about the same time that Yockey was writing *Imperium* (which is discussed in chapter 7), a woman, Savitri Devi, was making her contributions to postwar National Socialism in war-torn Europe. Born in France to a Greek father and an English mother, Devi was well-educated and received a Ph.D. in chemistry in 1931. However, she quickly lost interest in science and turned her attention to mysticism. An avid Germanophile and admirer of Hitler, Devi traveled to Germany soon after World War II and began propagandizing for a rebirth of National Socialism. These efforts landed her in an Allied prison. Upon her release in 1956, she wrote her most important book, *The Lighting and the Sun*—a bizarre hagiography of Hitler that syncretized National Socialism with Hindu mysticism. According to Devi, Hitler was the "man against time," a figure of demigod status sent by providence to lead the Aryan man out of the dark ages and into a new golden age. Although few read her book, it was well-received by several leading figures in the postwar National Socialist movement and had a profound influence on the development of their *weltanschauung*. German National Socialism was henceforth recast as a universalist ideology, indeed as a quasi-religion, under which all European-derived peoples could work to create a "new order" based on the "eternal laws of nature." Despite her efforts, Devi's writings did not reach much beyond a handful of fanatics.[22] However, in recent years, there has been a modest revival of interest in her works among members of the extreme right, and Carto has republished some of her writings, including *Gold in the Furnace*, which covers her propagandizing exploits in Germany shortly after the war's end.[23]

Some of the more mainstream racialist organizations cooperated with Carto as well. The nascent Citizens' Council movement found common cause with Liberty Lobby. R. Carter Pittman of Dalton, Georgia, who served as the president of the States' Rights Council of Georgia in the late 1950s, became identified with several right-wing organizations, including Liberty Lobby, the John Birch Society, the Council for Individual Freedom, and Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade.[24] On March 20, 1962, Carto attended a closed-door convention organized by Billy James Hargis. The purpose of the conference was to mobilize support for conservative candidates from both major political parties.[25] Another important figure, Judge Tom Brady, the founder of the Citizens' Councils, was one of the first members of Liberty Lobby's advisory board.[26]

In the late 1950s, the John Birch Society emerged and appeared to have the potential of developing into a juggernaut of the radical right. Not surprisingly, Carto was soon drawn into its orbit.

The John Birch Society

In 1958, a successful candy manufacturer, Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., convened a meeting of like-minded friends in Indianapolis, Indiana, to create an organization to counter the Communist subversion that they saw throughout the U.S. government.[27] The Society was named after John Birch—a young fundamentalist Baptist preacher and intelligence officer, who served in China during World War II.[28] Welch developed a tight-knit and disciplined organization, which at its peak, in the mid-1960s, reached a membership of approximately 50,000–60,000 members—an astronomical figure by far right standards.[29]

Through his dissemination of conspiracy theories, Welch made significant contributions to the worldview of the radical right. Although he was ardently anti-Communist, Welch believed the subversion that he saw actually extended much further back into history than Bolshevism and Karl Marx. Hence, he propounded the theory that a sinister group, "the Insiders," had been in existence for over two hundred years and was linked to a Bavarian secret society known as "the Illuminati," founded by Adam Weishaupt in 1776.[30]

The strength and influence of the John Birch Society (JBS) alarmed its critics, most notably the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Although right-wing organizations of the early-1960s were by no means unified, they made efforts at coordination and were sufficiently alike in ideology to be considered a coherent movement. The Birch Society was an important nexus and gateway of the radical right during that period. Accordingly, the ADL issued several reports in the 1960s warning of the danger on the radical right posed by the John Birch Society.[31] At first, this may seem odd, since the Birch Society eschewed anti-Semitism and often ousted members who voiced such views. However, earlier research suggested that seemingly innocuous conspiracy theories involving actors such as Communists and international bankers could be quickly transformed into anti-Semitic narratives.[32] Moreover, there were several examples of members who were, or went on to become, leading anti-Semites.[33]

Carto actually joined the John Birch Society, but he departed after less than a year. Around 1958, he weighed offers from both H. L. Hunt, a very wealthy Texan who funded conservative causes, and Robert Welch to work at their offices. Ultimately, Carto accepted the offer from the latter and worked at the headquarters of the Birch Society in Belmont, Massachusetts, during which time he learned valuable organizational and fund-raising skills that could be applied to his efforts to build up Liberty Lobby.[34] Eventually, Carto broke with Welch because the latter rejected Carto's offer to include the nascent Liberty Lobby as part of his organizational network. Moreover, there were ideological differences between the two groups as well. Officially, the Birch society eschewed racialism and anti-Semitism. And unlike Liberty Lobby, the John Birch Society would not go so far as to implicate Jews in the one-world conspiracy. What is more, the two organizations differed in their analysis of several key issues. Whereas the Birch Society saw Communism as an ideological conspiracy, Liberty Lobby imputed an underlying racial conflict to the movement. While the Birch Society ascribed a Communist conspiracy to the civil rights movement, Liberty Lobby was more likely to couch its opposition in the parlance of biological determinism. The two organizations also differed in their philosophies of government. The Birch Society was mainly elitist in orientation insofar as it advocated the removal of "bad" elites with "good" patriotic elites. Furthermore, the Birch Society insisted that the United States was a republic, not a democracy—the latter being characterized as a form of "mobacracy."[35] Conversely, Liberty Lobby was more populist in orientation, as it sought to appeal to more strata of American society. Because of the Birch Society's reluctance to tackle the race issue and the "Jewish question," Carto eventually came to the conclusion that the organization was a fraud designed to mislead well-meaning patriots. The Birch Society countered that Carto's newspaper, the *Spotlight*, published articles that were based on unreliable information and unsound scholarship.[36]

Nonetheless, a certain symbiosis developed between the two organizations despite their disagreements, and a considerable overlap existed between their clienteles.[37] There remained some issues on which the two organizations occupied common ground. For example, whereas the respectable conservative movement endorsed Nixon in his bid for the presidency in 1972, the Lobby and the Birch Society endorsed George Wallace. Moreover, both organizations condemned the Council on Foreign Relations and its influence over the Nixon administration through members such as Henry Kissinger, and David and Nelson Rockefeller. Finally, both groups occasionally promoted the same books, including Curtis B. Dall's *FDR: My Exploited Father-in-Law*, Carroll Quigley's *Tragedy and Hope*, Cleon Skousen's *The Naked Capitalist*, and Gary Allen's *None Dare Call it Conspiracy*.[38]

After reaching its zenith in the mid-1960s, the Birch Society's influence began to wane, and at the time of Welch's death in 1985, the organization was just a shell of its former self. Although Carto and his organizations have attempted to maintain a respectable veneer, they have on occasion collaborated with extremist segments of the far right as well.

Neo-Nazism

Right also defended the more radical segments of the American right. To this end, *Right* ran a regular feature called "Persecution of the Right," listing the names of rightists that faced repression and prosecution from the government. Early issues demanded that "Ezra Pound must be released!" In the summer of 1958, the United White Party and the States' Rights Party merged to create the National States Rights Party.[39] Occasionally, *Right* contained articles that came to the defense of the National States Rights Party. Later in 1958, members of the new party—Chester Griffin, George Bright, and Wallace Allen—were accused of bombing a synagogue in Atlanta, Georgia.[40] The national organizer, Matt Koehl, would later join George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party.[41] *Right* called upon the government to investigate the incidents, claiming that the attacks might have been contrived as a scheme by which to increase Jewish fundraising. L. E. Rogers, whom *Right* identified as a paid agent of the ADL who worked closely with the FBI, allegedly bragged about "his connections with underworld Negroes." *Right* speculated that an unidentified "scar faced" African-American man, working on behalf of Jewish interests, might have been the actual perpetrator of the attacks.[42] A member of the National States Right Party, George Bright, was indicted in connection with the attacks, but his subsequent criminal trial ended in a mistrial with three jurors in favor of acquittal and nine in favor of conviction. Another member, Dr. Edward R. Fields, alleged that Rogers worked as an agent provocateur, who tried to lure Bright into criminal activity. Retired Admiral John G. Crommelin organized the Defend America Fund to raise money for the defendants.[43] In his second trial, which ended on January 23, 1959, a twelve-man jury in Atlanta unanimously voted to acquit Bright.[44] After the Atlanta controversy, *Right* stepped up its criticism of the FBI, pointing out that the agency director, J. Edgar Hoover, gave fulsome praise to both the NAACP and the ADL in his book, *Masters of Deceit*. Consequently, *Right* urged nationalists to "shed their awe of the once-respected FBI."[45]

In early 1960, a rash of vandalism, which included swastika daubings, raised alarm among Jews in Europe and the United States. *Right* suggested that perhaps the "Zionists and Communists" were covertly responsible for the vandalism in an effort to embarrass the West German government, and to facilitate the purge of anti-Communists throughout the Western world. Furthermore, *Right* speculated that the ADL may have had a hand in the so-called "swastika spree."[46] Liberty Lobby associate Joseph Kamp later wrote a pamphlet called "The Bigots Behind the Swastika Spree," which implicated Jewish groups and Communists in the controversy, claiming that the motive was to generate sympathy for Jews and further Communist objectives in the West.[47]

Spokesmen for the incipient neo-Nazi movement, including George Lincoln Rockwell and Matt Koehl, wrote a few articles for *Right*. Prior to Rockwell's creation of the American Nazi Party in 1958, there were some organizations, such as the Columbians and the National Renaissance Party, that adopted some of the symbolic and stylistic trappings and ideology of Nazism. However, the former quickly ran afoul of the law and was effectively shut down, while the latter remained for the most part a small cult until its dissolution in 1979.[48] Rockwell's American Nazi Party was the first explicitly neo-Nazi party to gain widespread notoriety in the United States. Flamboyant and articulate, Rockwell captured much publicity for his National Socialist cause with his provocative antics. Along with his storm troopers, Rockwell would visit racial hot spots around the country. His "in your face" tactics provoked angry opposition and brought much attention to his organization, which in turn gave people the perception that it was much larger than it really was (estimates are that it never exceeded fifty members at any given time).[49] Rockwell tirelessly set about creating a viable party and established links with like-minded believers, which culminated in the creation of the World Union of National Socialists in Cotswold, England, in 1960.[50]

However, it was not easy for Rockwell to hold his followers together, as his organization attracted more than its share of the mentally unstable and provocateurs. In 1967, a disgruntled member, John Patler, assassinated Rockwell. Furthermore, the government kept close tabs on Rockwell's American Nazi Party and it was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO program. The ADL also closely monitored Rockwell, and on at least one occasion persuaded the FBI to open an investigation of him.[51] Despite his death, the organization continues to this day under the name New Order and under the leadership of Matt Koehl in Wisconsin. However, this organization is really no more than a mail order book distributor. In his own day, though, Rockwell influenced several figures that would go on to be key figures within the far right.

In fact, Rockwell once maintained a correspondence with Carto. Prior to this association, Rockwell wrote a few articles for Russell Maguire's *American Mercury*, an organ over which Carto would eventually take control.[52] Maguire once served at the National Chairman of the Constitution Party, but later resigned.[53] In an issue of *Right*, Rockwell contributed an article in which he exhorted whites to rally around the swastika as a powerful symbol of resistance. Although *Right* did not explicitly endorse Rockwell's position, it prefaced his article by stating that the "fanaticism and dynamism of his movement was unquestioned." Rockwell described Hitler as a giant of a man sent by God to lead the white race. As Rockwell explained, the postwar opprobrium against Hitler was no reason not to admire him. After all, he pointed out, other great figures—such as Jesus—were scorned by their critics as well. The harsh and alarmist criticism that his American Nazi Party received from the ADL was cited as evidence of the efficacy of this approach. He dismissed the more respectable tactics of the conservative movement as powerless against the "arrogant, ruthless terrorism of the Jew conspirators." Therefore, only a dynamic movement, such as explicit National Socialism, could lead the white race to salvation.[54] *Right* described Rockwell as "a sincere but misguided fanatic."[55]

In an interview, Carto offered his thoughts on Rockwell:

> Rockwell was a promoter. He was really a rather incredible personality. His theory was I'm going to make a fool out of myself and make as much noise as I can and get as much attention as I possibly can. And this is stage one of my revolution. Stage two then would be to explain logically what we are trying to do. At the same time [Rockwell would] be running for office. Apparently, he was taken seriously by his enemies because he was assassinated.
>
> I met him [Rockwell]. He had a lot of enemies. A lot of people thought he was a stooge of the ADL and so on. I never thought that. It was obvious to me what he was doing.[56]

When I asked Carto if he had any misgivings about giving neo-Nazis exposure in *Right*, he responded:

> I think only a hypocrite can claim that they [Rockwell and his American Nazi Party] were not part of the so-called right wing. And so therefore [I thought] it would be dishonest to ignore them. I think that anyone who wants to be honest about it and fair about it, had to mention them. Otherwise we would be rightfully accused of being biased and dishonest. Lincoln Rockwell was a real promoter.[57]

Carto eventually split with Rockwell when the latter published an article in the July and September 1964 issues of the *Rockwell Report* accusing Francis Parker Yockey of being a Soviet agent—a charge for which there was some evidence.[58] The historian Frederick Simonelli contends that, despite their differenct views on Yockey, George Lincoln Rockwell did much to lay the groundwork for Holocaust denial and even had an influence on Carto. According to Simonelli, Rockwell promoted Holocaust denial as early as 1964—five years before Carto published David Hoggan's *Myth of the Six Mil-*

once again during George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign and created the Youth for Wallace organization, which is examined in chapter 9. Chapter 10 recounts an important milestone in the history of Liberty Lobby, which came in 1975, with the launching of the *Spotlight*.

Not surprisingly, Carto's efforts have not gone unnoticed by his ideological opponents. Chapter 11 chronicles some of the battles involving Carto and his critics. Arguably, Carto's most audacious project has been Holocaust revisionism. Although Carto did not introduce this contrarian movement, he did give it an institutional basis with the creation of the Institute of Historical Review, the origins of which are covered in chapter 12. Over the years, Carto has sought to promote the populist worldview, which is examined in chapter 13. To further this ideology, Carto founded a new Populist Party in the early 1980s, which is explored in chapter 14. Chapter 15 looks at the influence of Carto and Liberty Lobby on the Christian Patriot/militia movement that gained notoriety during the 1990s.

In the fractious world of the American far right, internecine squabbles are the norm. Chapter 16 details the struggle between Carto and the organization he founded, but that ultimately broke from his control: the Institute for Historical Review. Not to be deterred, Carto created another revisionist organ, the *Barnes Review*, which is the focus of chapter 17. As mentioned earlier, in the summer of 2001, Liberty Lobby was forced to liquidate, but its remnants were quickly reconstituted into a new periodical—*American Free Press*—which is the topic of chapter 18. Finally, chapter 19 considers Carto's significance and the impact he has had on both America and the far right.

2

The Far Right before Carto

Right-wing extremism has a long tradition in the United States, and there are many studies that have examined the various movements that have punctuated American history. However, there is still no firm consensus on the definition of the terms "far right" and "extreme right." In the context of American politics, such terms are difficult to define, owing in large measure to the vast geographic size, large population, and heterogeneity of the country. The extreme right is a variegated movement composed of many disparate groups and individuals. Therefore, it is difficult to find a bare-minimum classification into which all right-wing extremists can be placed.

With these definitional limitations in mind, I have assembled a list of characteristics that, although they do not rigidly define the extreme right, may adequately describe and capture the essence of right-wing extremism:

- *Particularism*. Unlike other political ideologies and orientations, the extreme right usually takes a more parochial outlook, as it is generally more concerned with a smaller locus of identity, such as the nation, republic, race, or ethnic group. It tends not to have ambitions to convert the whole world to its belief system, in contrast to other ideologies, such as liberal democracy, Communism, and some variants of socialism, which are seen as suitable, indeed desirable, for export.
- *Low regard for democracy*. Although extreme right political organizations and individuals tend to play by the democratic rules of the game, they seem to be less enthusiastic about democracy than mainstream political orientations.
- *Antistatism*. Right-wing extremism often evinces a severe disaffection with the government, or at least with the scope of government. Although certain segments of the racialist right—most notably those that draw inspiration from National Socialism—may in principle approve of the idea of a strong state, they regard the current U.S. government as hopelessly under the control of outsiders who use their power in ways that are inimical to the national community.
- *A conspiracy theory of history*. Denizens of the extreme right have a tendency to look beneath the surface of American politics and find elite cabals at work subverting society.

1

Introduction

Most Americans have never heard of Willis Carto. Although he has been for over fifty years an active leader in what is often called the "far right," he remains to this day a relatively obscure figure even among those who study American politics. Over the past several decades, he has raised millions of dollars for his causes, yet he has received very little national publicity and has been virtually ignored by the mainstream press.

Despite this obscurity, Carto is undoubtedly the central figure in the post-World War II American far right. More than any other person, he has fostered continuity within this movement and has been involved in virtually all of its major projects. The organization he founded—Liberty Lobby—was one of the most enduring institutions in the history of the movement and provided a base where virtually all segments of the far right came together. Located in the Capitol Hill section of Washington, D.C., Liberty Lobby was one of the few far right organizations to actually attain some semblance of respectability and influence in American national politics. For nearly three decades, Liberty Lobby published a weekly newspaper, the *Spotlight*, which was once the most influential and widely read organ of the far right.[1] The tabloid-style newspaper sought to appeal to many segments of the movement by promoting themes of interest to militias, antiglobalists, conspiracy theorists, Holocaust revisionists, and white racialists.

Largely through Carto's efforts, the American far right has endured in the postwar era despite the opposition arrayed against it from both the government and private organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League. To his detractors, Carto, more than any other person, is responsible for promoting what they see as a particularly hateful ideology—an Americanized version of Nazism. Beneath a veneer of patriotism, they argue, lies an insidious creed that has influenced notorious groups and individuals, including Timothy McVeigh, who was convicted of bombing the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

Despite his stature on the far right, Carto is characterized by many in the movement as an opportunist. While other far right organizations are chronically cash-strapped, Carto's projects have been relatively well-financed. Some of his critics accuse him of taking advantage of gullible followers through some of the conspiracy theories that his publications promote. He is often accused by others in the movement of bilking credulous senior citizens of money that could be put to better use in more serious far right projects. It has been said that over time, Carto has made enemies with virtually all of the major figures in the American far right. While Carto has certainly had his share of detractors, this claim is overstated and belied by the fact that his conferences attract many leading figures in the movement who appear to get along quite well with him.

His influence notwithstanding, Carto has shunned media attention, so much so that he is often characterized as "shadowy." Reports on Carto by monitoring groups, such as the Anti-Defamation League, depict him as a sort of godfather figure on the far right, whose influence extends widely, yet who remains shrouded in obscurity. He is considered something of a legend by those who study political extremism in the United States, and his name and the various groups he has led are mentioned in many books and articles on the topic. Yet, for the most part, Carto the man remains an enigma. An intensely private man, he appears in very few published photos. Nor does he speak to the media. Rather, he has consistently preferred to operate behind the scenes and let other figures represent his causes in public. His low profile notwithstanding, his impact cannot be ignored.

According to some of his detractors in the movement, Carto runs his various organizations in an authoritarian fashion, brooking no dissent from his underlings. These leadership traits have been essential to holding such a fractious and unstable collection of individuals together; yet at the same time they have provoked many internecine battles with his former associates. Most notable in this regard was a bitter feud between Liberty Lobby and a former subsidiary organization, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). In 2001, Liberty Lobby was forced to dissolve itself as a result of a civil judgment brought against that organization by the IHR. Despite this apparent setback, Liberty Lobby reconstituted itself and relaunched its *Spotlight* publication as *American Free Press* later that same year, and it continues to this day.

The true picture of Carto is probably a bit more complicated than the caricature of an authoritarian despot seeking to develop a cult of personality. In a movement as fractious as the American far right, it would require someone with considerable diplomatic skills to foster ties and close working relationships with such a broad number and range of activists. Over the years, Carto has endeavored to build a network at which the disparate segments of the far right could unite—no mean task considering the various contradictions and rivalries between them. Perhaps more than any other figure, Carto was the man for such a task.

I first met Willis Carto in December 2000. As a graduate student writing a doctoral dissertation on the American far right, I naturally wanted to interview Carto. Several months earlier, I contacted the Liberty Lobby office and requested an interview and talked at length with a gregarious staffer, Michael Collins Piper. Despite my repeated requests, there always seemed to be some excuse why Carto was unavailable. Finally, in December 2000, I received a phone call from another staffer, who intoned, "Mr. Carto would like to talk to you." Soon thereafter, I made arrangements to meet him.

On December 15, 2000, we finally met. At first, his deep-set eyes conveyed a demeanor and mood of intense seriousness. Although at the time he was in his seventies, Carto appeared mentally sharp and physically fit. He is a diminutive man, shorter than average and probably weighing less than 150 pounds. His dapper attire gave him the appearance of a newspaper reporter, as portrayed in old Hollywood films. He speaks with a midwestern accent that leaves an impression of ordinariness. Overall, his appearance is unremarkable; one might even describe him as avuncular. However, after conversing with him for many hours and researching his career, I have come to the conclusion that he is a man of considerable intelligence, even though he does not immediately leave that impression.

Two years after our first meeting, I spoke to Carto by phone and broached the topic of writing his biography. I asked if he would assist me in the project. After a pause of a few seconds, he replied, "No." However, after thinking it over for a few days, Carto later changed his mind and agreed to support me in the effort.

No other man has had more influence on the postwar American radical right than Willis Carto. As such, his story should be told. In order to put him in context, chapter 2 looks at the American far right before the entrance of Willis Carto. Several of these earlier figures, most notably, Lawrence Dennis, left a lasting influence on him. Chapter 3 explores Carto's early life, which began in Fort Wayne, Indiana. After discharge from the Army and a stint in college, Carto entered the fray of right-wing politics by launching the newsletter *Right*, which is the subject of chapter 4. The principal purpose of the newsletter was to unite the fractious world of the far right; these efforts are covered in chapter 5. Toward that end, in 1955 Carto launched Liberty Lobby, whose origins are traced in chapter 6. One person in particular who left a lasting impression on Carto was Francis Parker Yockey, who is introduced in chapter 7. Yockey is credited with reviving fascism and revising it in order to make it more relevant in the postwar era.

Liberty Lobby has also been concerned with more immediate, practical issues in politics, including the nascent civil rights movement and the Vietnam War. In the presidential election year of 1964, Liberty Lobby sought to mobilize the conservative movement behind Barry Goldwater. These efforts are covered in chapter 8. A few years later, Carto dabbled in electoral politics really ever had a change of heart; in his autobiographies, he reiterated his calumnies against Jews.[20]

The Brown Scare

The Great Depression was a severe trauma for many Americans and was a watershed period in American history. Political realignments were afoot, as Franklin D. Roosevelt forged a broad coalition within the Democratic Party to win the presidency. The far right also changed, as its focus shifted away from nativism and anti-Catholicism to anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. Throughout the 1920s, nativism in America was distinctly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant in orientation. However, by the 1930s, it had gone through a significant transformation as Catholics began to enter the ranks of its most notable figures.[21]

The most significant of the Depression-era right-wing demagogues was the "radio priest" Father Charles Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan. Coughlin did much to popularize the fledging medium of radio in the 1930s. His vitriolic sermons on the airwaves railed against the New Deal, FDR, and Jews, and espoused isolationism and admiration for European fascists. As a youth, Carto recalled listening to Coughlin's broadcasts with his family and described him as a spellbinding orator.[22] Coughlin's radio show had a very large following, numbering at its peak seven million listeners. As war approached, Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice became the focus of an FBI investigation. Investigators were suspicious that Coughlin's organization received support from Germany to foster isolationism in the United States. The Roosevelt administration responded very gingerly to Coughlin, as it did not want to alienate Catholics who were an important part of his New Deal coalition. Shortly after the war began, the Justice Department persuaded Coughlin to cease his radio broadcasts and his publication, *Social Justice*.[23]

By the early 1930s, the dynamism of fascism in continental Europe inspired similar movements in America, including Gerald Winrod's Defenders of the Christian Faith, William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts, Fritz Kuhn's German American Bund, and the Italian American Fascist League of North America. Despite their numbers, these groups were never able to work effectively as a unified movement and ultimately failed to achieve their goals. In fact, the historian Geoffrey Smith argues that their efforts were actually counterproductive, as they played into the hands of President Roosevelt, who exploited their activities as evidence of fifth-columnist subversion, which supposedly threatened American democracy. According to Smith, this helped President Roosevelt succeed in his effort to involve America directly in World War II.[24]

In this instance, the far right was little match for its opponents. Moreover, as America slowly marched from isolationism to intervention in World War II, native fascists were increasingly marginalized and found themselves cast as political pariahs, a stigma from which they have yet to recover.

During the interwar years, Lawrence Dennis was recognized as the leading intellectual of the far right. Considering himself above the fray in the factional milieu of the far right, Dennis, more than any other figure, created what approached a comprehensive philosophy of American fascism. After the war, he and Carto developed an enduring friendship. Carto thought of Dennis as a great intellectual, and his political and economic theories obviously had an abiding influence on Carto.[25] Born in Atlanta on December 25, 1893, to the son of a prominent Atlanta attorney and his mulatto (half-black) mistress, Dennis was raised by a black family. Although he claimed that he was descended from a "a long line of American ancestors" including Indians, his features have been described as dark skinned, with deep brown eyes, and wooly, dark, and kinky hair.[26] The fact that Dennis was partly of African ancestry did not seem to bother Carto's racial sensibilities. A precocious child, Dennis by age five was a traveling preacher known as the "mulatto child evangelist." By the age of fifteen, he had toured churches throughout the United States and England, addressing hundreds of thousands of people. Dennis began his college education at the elite Phillip's Exeter Academy, which he attended from 1913 to 1915, after which he transferred to Harvard University. World War I interrupted his studies, and he volunteered for the army and received an officer's commission after attending training camps in Plattsburgh, New York, in 1915 and 1917. Stationed in France, he served as a lieutenant in the infantry with a headquarters regiment. After the armistice, he wandered around Europe, but later returned to Harvard, from which he graduated in 1920. With a degree from a highly prestigious university, the light-skinned Dennis "passed" as white; this opened up new opportunities for the ambitious and talented young man.

The next year, Dennis entered the Foreign Service of the U.S. State Department and served as *chargé d'affairs* in Romania, Honduras, and Nicaragua, where in 1926–27, he witnessed first hand the rebellion led by General Augusto Sandino and subsequent U.S. military intervention. It was actually Dennis who, under State Department orders, sent the cablegram that "requested" the intervention of U.S. Marines. After that experience, he never again favored military involvement, and, in fact, consistently opposed it. In June 1927, he resigned from the diplomatic service in protest and began a career as a banker, working for the international banking firm of J. & W. Seligman & Co., which stationed him in Peru. After resigning in 1932, he retired to his farm in Becket, Massachusetts, and pursued a new career as a writer, lecturer, and investment analyst.[27] He later worked as an economic adviser to E. A. Pierce and Co., a prominent Wall Street brokerage firm.

By the 1930s, Dennis had become an ardent critic of the capitalist system, which he saw as inexorably moving toward cycles of war. Dennis believed that the closing of the American Western frontier would have serious consequences for U.S. foreign policy. With no more virgin lands to settle and absorb investment and energy, Dennis predicted that America would look overseas for lands to conquer and markets to exploit. He authored several books on this theme, including *Is Capitalism Doomed?* (1932), *The Coming American Fascism* (1936), and *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* (1940). To avoid this scenario, Dennis advocated an American-style capitalism consisting of large-scale governmental economic planning. As Dennis saw it, misdistributions of production periodically plagued capitalism. He also argued that underconsumption spurred capitalist economies to look for outlets for their surplus production, which often led to imperial contests and wars. Initially, the political left in both America and Britain hailed Dennis as "a leading expositor of capitalist senescence." However, by the mid-thirties, the left had become wary of him due to his dalliance with fascism.[28] Dennis emerged as the most articulate voice calling for a corporatist economic system in the United States that advocated a large degree of state direction. He predicted that National Socialism, were it ever implemented in America, would begin, as in Germany, with a wave of anti-Semitism in which both rich and poor Jews would probably initially suffer.[29]

In April 1936, Dennis traveled to Europe to establish contacts with leaders in the Nazi and fascist movements. While in Germany, he made useful liaisons with Ernst Hanfstaengl, the Nazi Party foreign press chief, Hans Dieckhoff, and Friederich Auhagen, who later became a Nazi agent in America. He also met Alfred Rosenberg, a leading Nazi leader and author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, which is considered by some historians to be the principal exegesis of the National Socialist *weltanschauung*. While in Nuremberg, Dennis was actually a guest of Hitler, who took him along with friends to lunch and a tour of the city. His host, Ulrich von Gienanth, would later become the propaganda *attaché* at the German embassy in Washington, D.C. While in Berlin, Dennis attended a briefing at the *Amerika Institut* and was received cordially at the Propaganda Ministry. He even met Mussolini for an hour and dined with Count Ignazio Tahon de Revel, the secretary of the Fascist Party Abroad.[30]

Back in the United States, Dennis was involved in numerous isolationist and rightist causes and organizations, including the America First movement.[31] He was on good terms with the organization's figurehead, Charles Lindbergh. Dennis and his wife, Eleanor, are actually believed to have provided the gist of many of Lindbergh's speeches. Moreover, Dennis is thought to have inspired Lindbergh's wife, Anne, to write her book, *The Wave of the Future*.[32] He also associated with the German-American activist, George Sylvester Viereck, who worked hard to generate sympathy for Germany in the 1930s and to further the isolationist cause. An ardent supporter of the isolationist agenda, Dennis presented a lecture titled "America and Germany—Contrasts Without Conflicts" at the first gathering of the American Fellowship Forum, a group that was founded by Viereck in the late 1930s and appealed to the more literate upper social classes and intellectuals. The organization was composed primarily of German-American businessmen. Dr. Friedrich Ernest Ferdinand Auhagen, a former professor of German literature at Columbia University, was appointed as its national director.[33]

Dennis voiced support for other rightists of the era, including Elizabeth Dilling, the author of such classic rightist tracts as *The Red Network* and *The Octopus*. Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the most prominent of the American far right's Christian preachers, was also on close terms with Dennis.[34] Retired Major General George Van Horn Moseley maintained a correspondence with Dennis until the latter was indicted for sedition.[35] During the 1930s, many far rightists pinned their hopes on Moseley, hoping that he would eventually assume the position of a strong American leader not unlike the führer in Germany.

Continuing his literary pursuits, Dennis edited an ultraright publication, the *Awakener*, with Joseph P. Kamp, who after the war would associate with Willis Carto. Kamp led the Constitutional Educational League, which was named as a factor in a mass indictment for sedition.[36] Kamp's friends included more respectable figures, including Charles Lindbergh, Representative Hamilton Fish (R-NY), and Senators Gerald Nye (R-ND) and Burton K. Wheeler (D-MT).[37] In an interview with investigator Roy Carlson, Nye allegedly spoke of Dennis in near reverential terms.[38] Later, in 1938, Dennis launched his own newsletter called the *Weekly Foreign Letter*.

Unfortunately for Dennis and his fellow rightists, they were on the wrong side of history, and they would soon face stiff opposition from the federal government, the media, and private monitoring groups, such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the American Jewish Committee. During the period of the "Brown Scare," there were several alarmist *exposés* that sought to link American far rightists with continental European fascists.[39]

One of the most significant works of anti-extremist journalism of that era came from Avendis Derounian, who under the pseudonym of John Roy Carlson, wrote a book called *Under Cover*. The book sold over 800,000 copies and was the top nonfiction bestseller of 1944.[40] Carlson posed as a pro-fascist Italian-American in order to infiltrate American far right groups during the late 1930s. Some monitoring organizations had a hand in this effort, including the ADL and Friends of Democracy, which supported Carlson during his undercover investigations.[41] His book read like an adventure story, as he skillfully exploited the *exposé* formula and depicted himself as an intrepid undercover agent. Ultimately he came on friendly terms with many prominent individuals on the American far right, including eighteen defendants in the Great Sedition Trial (see below). Using a "links and ties" technique, Carlson sought to demonstrate that there was an intricate conspiracy involving the German government, representatives of the far right, and isolationist members of Congress (e.g., Senators Wheeler, Nye, and Taft and Representatives Fish and Hoffman). To make his point, Carlson cited interlocking letterheads and chains of associations—some of which required Carlson as an essential link—which allegedly tied these individuals into a subversive conspiracy. One weakness of this method was that many of these individuals had never even met one another.[42]

Carlson's book did much to shape the public's attitudes toward domestic right-wing extremists during that period. What is more, his thesis dovetailed effectively with President Roosevelt's efforts to silence his isolationist opponents in Congress. Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt had been pressuring the Justice Department to round up some of his more outspoken and disreputable critics and put them on trial. According to the historian Richard Gid Powers, Roosevelt seemed to have in mind a mass trial that would link domestic extremists with his congressional critics.[43] In that respect, Carlson's book furthered Roosevelt's aim by giving credence to such a theory. Powers asserts that Carlson's book ultimately persuaded the government to pursue the Great Sedition Trial of 1944.[44] Several defendants and critics of this trial also believed that the prosecution was based in large part on Carlson's thesis.[45]

The Brown Scare culminated in the Great Sedition Trial of 1944 (formally *U.S. v. McWilliams*). Thirty American rightists and foreign nationals, including Lawrence Dennis, Gerald Winrod, Elizabeth Dilling, William Dudley Pelley, and George Sylvester Viereck, were charged with sedition. Several members of the German American Bund were included among those indicted, as the prosecution argued that the defendants were part of a German government network of subversion. The specific charge was a violation of the Smith Act of 1940, which prohibited the advocacy of insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States, as well as the advocacy of the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by use of force or violence. Many of the defendants had published literature that was highly critical of FDR, the New Deal, and U.S. intervention overseas, while lauding American rightists and isolationists, European fascists, and the Japanese. The prosecutor, O. J. Rogge, argued that the defendants were part of a worldwide Nazi conspiracy by virtue of their beliefs and goals, and he even named Adolf Hitler and his lieutenants as co-conspirators. The prosecution claimed that it could prove that the defendants had received funds and instructions from the German government. Subsequent research has found little evidence to support this assertion. For instance, the German Foreign Office in America worried that the antics of the Bund would alarm Americans and undercut the German government's efforts to keep America out of the war.[46]

The defendants were, in fact, a disparate collection of rightists hardly united in an overarching conspiracy. To be sure, some of the defendants admired European fascism; others favored traditional versions of American populism and nationalism and looked askance at any form of totalitarianism. Rogge's thesis raised more than a few eyebrows, as many critics found it highly implausible that such a disparate collection could be part of a well-oiled conspiracy.

To make his case, Rogge used the Laswell method of propaganda analysis as part of his prosecution strategy, by which he sought to demonstrate consistencies between American rightist and German Nazi propaganda. According to one critic, Rogge's thesis was a *Protocols*-style conspiracy theory in reverse.[47] Precisely how involved the various monitoring groups of that period were involved in this case is difficult to determine due to its sensitive nature. Prior to the trial, several private groups, most notably the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, supplied intelligence information to the Justice Department.. One of the defense counsels, James J. Laughlin, caused quite a stir in the courtroom when he requested the impoundment of the ADL's files as part of the discovery process. He conjectured that much of the prosecution's evidence was based on the ADL's intelligence and argued that it would be necessary to determine precisely what had been provided in order to mount an effective defense for his client. However, the presiding judge, Edward C. Eichner, denied the motion.[48]

The trial dragged on for seven months until Judge Eichner died suddenly of a heart attack and his successor declared a mistrial. Still, the government did not officially drop the indictment until two years later. The sedition trial had many critics, including prominent isolationist members of Congress, such as Senators Burton K. Wheeler (D-MT), Gerald Nye (ND-R), and William Langer (ND-R), Representatives Hamilton Fish (NY-R) and Clare Hoffman (MI-R), and even the Attorney General Francis Biddle.[49] Contemporary historians of this subject generally concede that the defendants were not part of a subversive conspiracy.[50] That many of the defendants admired

Hitler, Mussolini, and European fascism and advocated a fascistic style of government for the United States is not in doubt. However, the activities of most of the American rightists were legal, and although unpopular, what they wrote and spoke were within the bounds of First Amendment protections. Indeed, the fact that the government ceased prosecution and released most of those caught in the government's dragnet before or shortly after the end of hostilities illustrates the American legal commitment to free speech. Conspicuously absent from the trial, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) offered no support to the defendants, nor did it issue any statement against the government's prosecution of their speech.[51]

Although not convicted at the Great Sedition Trial, Dennis spent time in prison on other charges.[52] During the Cold War, he continued to write and vigorously opposed an escalation of tensions with the Soviet Union.[53] He predicted that the United States would increasingly be dragged into the Middle East in order to protect Israel. Eventually, he believed, a Third World War would have its genesis over the conflict surrounding Israel. As he saw it, perpetual war was a normal condition of the capitalist hegemon, the United States, in that it spurred economic development and growth amid stagnation during peacetime.[54] Carto would go on to become an avid promoter of Dennis. His Noontide Press published both *The Coming American Fascism* and *The Dynamics of War and Revolution*, and he even wrote a preface for the former. Dennis published one last book in 1968, titled *Operational Thinking for Survival*. In Dennis, Carto saw a genuine populist of unparalleled intelligence and insight. In 1977, Dennis died in Spring Valley, New York, at the age of 84.[55]

Rightist Resurrection: The 1950s

By the end of World War II, the American far right was demoralized and all but moribund. However, events in the 1950s allowed it to rebound. The specter of Communism provided an opportunity for the far right to return and regain respectability under the banner of McCarthyism. The renascent movement sought to put liberals and the political left in general on the defensive. In a speech presented in Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1950, McCarthy charged that the U.S. State Department was thoroughly infiltrated with Communist agents. He later expanded his list of subversives to include representatives of the Eisenhower administration, U.S. military, and the film industry. While there were indeed instances of espionage—most notably the cases of Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—the indiscriminate and reckless style of McCarthy's red baiting ultimately undermined anti-Communism as a viable political movement. Although frequently characterized as a far rightist, McCarthy had his share of detractors within the movement, who castigated him for his alliances with Jews, such as Roy Cohn, and his reluctance to target alleged Jewish Communists.[56] With McCarthyism discredited in the mainstream, anti-Communism migrated into the province of political extremism. In that vein, by the late 1950s, anti-Communism was increasingly associated with the political fringe—that is, with groups such as the John Birch Society—which saw Communist subversion virtually everywhere.[57]

It was not long before academics sought to explain the new upsurge in right-wing extremism. In a classic study of that period, *The Radical Right*, Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, Seymour Martin Lipset, and others argued that status deprivation fueled right-wing extremism. Moreover, it was asserted that rightists exhibited dogmatic belief systems and were less tolerant of ambiguity.[58] This was very similar to the analysis of Theodor Adorno and members of the so-called Frankfurt School, who sought to pathologize the right-wing or "authoritarian personality" and its fears of displacement.[59] In a similar vein, Hofstadter argued in his classic study, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, that right-wing extremists had feelings of persecution that were "systematized in grandiose theories of conspiracy."[60] What he felt was determinative in extremism was not so much the truth or falsity of the conspiratorial beliefs, but rather the dogmatic way in which those ideas were held.[61] Hofstadter acknowledged that conspiracies were indeed part and parcel of politics. However, what distinguished the paranoid style of political extremism was that its exponents saw a grand conspiracy as the motive force in historical events whose fate was often presented in apocalyptic terms.[62]

The Supreme Court's *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision in 1954 galvanized the racialist right, and the third-era Ku Klux Klan emerged along with overtly fascist groups such as the National Renaissance Party, the National States Rights Party, and the American Nazi Party. The Klan in this period enjoyed some regional grass roots support in the South and even had sympathizers in some positions of local governments.[63] Concomitant with a renascent Klan was the emergence of small neofascist groups in Europe and North America. However, these early postwar efforts to revive fascist activism quickly collapsed and remained dormant until Liberty Lobby was launched in the late 1950s.[64] However, before detailing this event, a review of Carto's early life is in order.

3

Early Years

The Carto Family

Willis Allison Carto was born on July 17, 1926, in Fort Wayne, Indiana, the first of two sons to Willis Frank Carto, who was twenty-two years old at the time, and Dorothy Louise Carto (née Allison), who was twenty-one. Willis Carto, Sr., had also been born and raised in Fort Wayne. Dorothy Louise Carto had been born in Cleveland, Ohio. Both of Willis Carto's parents attended South Side High School in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and they married soon after graduation.

According to the historian Frank Mintz, Carto is probably descended from Huguenot settlers. A close confidant of Carto, Michael Collins Piper, once told me that Carto had had a great-great grandfather who was a marshal in Napoleon's army. Carto himself once said to me that his father was half-French and his surname was originally Carteaux. Willis's grandfather, Frank J. Carto, a second generation American, changed the name to Carto in order to anglicize it. Frank Carto was a conductor on the Pennsylvania Railroad, which at the time ran from New York to Chicago. His line ran from Crestline, Ohio, to Chicago. He sustained a work-related injury, which ultimately resulted in gangrene and a painful death, which Willis recalled very well.[1] Frank's wife, Lillian Hite, was a second-generation American whose parents were from Germany and arrived in Ohio in a covered wagon. Carto could not remember the name of his grandfather (on his mother's side of the family), who was already deceased before he was born. On his mother's side of the family, Carto recalls that his grandmother, Florence Allison, and her daughter, Louise, were extremely religious.

Growing Up in Fort Wayne

During Carto's youth, Fort Wayne was the second largest city in Indiana, just behind Indianapolis. His family lived in the south end of the city. Carto described his relationship with his parents as unremarkable. He had one younger brother, David, four years his junior, who was still alive as of 2007.

On occasion, he fought with his brother, but not in a malicious way. With the onset of the Great Depression, his father, Willis Frank Carto, was forced to move his family into his parent's house, which also included his father's three brothers and one sister. They belonged to the Wayne Street Methodist Church in Fort Wayne, at which the young Willis served as the head usher and collected money from the parishioners in a brass tray. Today, Carto describes himself as a cultural Christian, but not a churchgoer.

To support his family, Carto's father worked as a salesman and sold paper to printers. He would get a new Ford every year, on which he put a lot of miles. On some occasions, he would take the young Willis on trips in his sales territory. Looking back, Carto appears to be ambivalent about his father. In particular, Carto seems derisive of his father's complacency toward politics:

> My dad and my mother—you couldn't find anybody more typically American. Dad was a Chamber of Commerce type guy, salt of the earth type. And yet I know that beneath the surface, he saw what was going on, but he didn't want to talk about it. He didn't want to recognize it. The last thing he wanted to do was admit I was right. He died about 10 years ago [1993]. He knew what I was doing, but he never discussed it. People like dad—millions of guys like him at their country clubs and in private gatherings, playing bridge or whatever—they talk [about] things. It's so obvious that the Jews are taking over. But the last thing they want to do is get involved.[2]

It was actually his father who got young Willis interested in printing and twice bought him hand printing presses and supplied him with California job cases full of movable type. He recalls being very proud that he could set type by hand. As a youth, Willis printed calling cards for people in school and charged fifteen cents for twenty-five cards. To make some spending money, he worked after school at a print shop called Ideal Printing Company. He still recalls the name of his boss, Claude Bishop. While in high school, Carto sold a magazine called *Liberty* door-to-door for a nickel apiece. It was a magazine in the style of the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Colliers*.

As far back as when he was in grade school, Carto recalls that he was very interested in newspapers. The young Carto published a small paper in the south side of Fort Wayne called the *Canteen Chronicle*, which, as he explained, appealed to a younger audience, and which he distributed gratis at the local teen recreation center. At one time he wanted to write a history of Fort Wayne for the newspapers. Looking back, he cannot remember what piqued his interest in newspapers. While in high school, he says, he was greatly influenced by Colonel McCormack's *Chicago Tribune*. He has described McCormack as his "hero."

Carto's political worldview had not yet crystallized when he was a teenager. His family members, however, often had heated political discussions. Three of his uncles—Bob, David, and Franklin (whom Carto described as a ne'er-do-well)—were Democrats. His father, however, was a Republican. He cannot recall his mother's political leanings. As far as he can recollect, during his youth he had never heard of the leading far rightists who were active during the 1930s and 1940s, with the exception of Father Coughlin, to whose broadcasts he would listen with the whole family. Often they would argue over the issues discussed in Coughlin's broadcasts, especially FDR's New Deal program.

During the war, Carto recounted that he was hostile to Hitler and Mussolini, believing, as he put it, the "government's propaganda." At the time he was convinced that Hitler would invade America and, if he were not stopped, "kill us all." He thought the Japanese would do the same thing. The occasional blackout drills gave credence and a sense of urgency to these popular assumptions. In retrospect, he thinks that this whole notion was "totally insane" and is amazed how people back then could have actually believed it, as he now realizes that it would be "logistically impossible" to carry out. Looking back, he believes that Roosevelt was doing every thing possible to get the United States into the war.

Carto attended Harrison Hill Grade School and hung out with a small, innocuous gang that played football, basketball, and softball. Describing himself as bashful, Carto recalled having crushes on a couple of girls, but all he did "was look at them." He graduated from South Side High School in June 1944.

Life in the Army

Soon after graduation, Carto was drafted into the Army and attended basic training at Fort Fannin in Texas, located near Tyler, in the northeastern part of the state. Prior to his induction, Carto had actually tried to join the Navy but was rejected because he had an infectious skin condition. The Army, though, was not so discriminating. Eventually, the skin infection was cured, and he was drafted. After basic training, Carto was sent to Fort Ord, California, where he and his fellow soldiers embarked on a cruise ship to New Guinea, where they stayed in harbor for a week. From there it was on to the Philippines, where Carto joined the Americal Division (officially the 23rd Infantry Division), which was founded in 1942 on the island of New Caledonia. Carto was assigned to Company F of the 132nd Regiment, in which he served as a first scout in his squad. In the summer of 1944, he was shot by a Japanese sniper. Carto recounted that if the bullet had hit just one inch to the left, it would have struck his heart. Instead, the bullet struck his arm. In another combat incident as a first scout, Carto recalls that a Japanese soldier threw a hand grenade at him, which exploded but did no harm.

Carto looks back fondly on his service in the Pacific theater. The local Filipinos were strongly in support of the Americans. While in the Army, Carto eventually attained the rank of corporal and was awarded the Purple Heart and the Combat Infantry Badge. However, there were trying moments, such as when one of his best Army buddies, Dan Patton, was killed while serving in the infantry. As Carto recalled, Patton, a young soldier from Texas, was a relative of the celebrated General George S. Patton. Carto described his combat experience as relatively mild, but enough to teach him some very important things in life. As he explained to me, serving in the infantry was an experience that he would not trade for anything, but that he would certainly not want to do again. He described "living with death" as "a novel experience." Over the years, Carto has consistently maintained a position of armed neutrality and nonintervention (with the exception of the Vietnam War), and he is generally very critical of war. After VJ Day, Carto was shipped to Japan. As he recollected, the Americal division was slated to be among the first of the invading forces to land in Yokohama, Japan. While in Japan, he was on occupation duty in the city of Sendai, located two hundred miles north of Tokyo.

Returning Home

In 1946, he was shipped back to Fort Sheridan near Chicago and received an honorable discharge. Soon thereafter, he returned to his parents, who had moved to Ohio not long after he graduated from high school, and he began attending Denison University in Granville, Ohio, where he studied prelaw for two years (1947–1949) but did not graduate. Next, he went directly into law school at the University of Cincinnati. He soon got bored of law school and dropped out after one semester, in 1949. As he recalls, his decision greatly upset his mother. Carto described himself as an average student, but school never really interested him. Boredom and wanderlust influenced his choice to drop out:

> I was in the army. I did my duty and all of that kind of stuff. I got out and I traveled all over the country with some buddies, then got a job that took me all over the country. I was very, very footloose. Then my mother wanted me to go to law school. I went to pre-law . . . I didn't

> want to be tied down. I decided the hell with this [laughs]. I got out. I'd sit there in class, I'd look outside at the sun and the trees rustling in the breeze and I'd say what am I doing here. I want to get the hell out of here [laughs].[3]

Off to Work

After dropping out of college, Carto and a friend went to work for a national company, Procter and Gamble, located in Cincinnati. As part of their job duties, they distributed samples of products all over the country. The job gave the young Carto an opportunity to travel widely. During these travels, his observations piqued his interest in race issues, which left a lasting impression on him. Growing up in Fort Wayne, Carto had had little exposure to racial minorities, since the city was highly segregated at that time. He does recall, however, having a black friend, Calvin Seals. Criss-crossing the country for the first time in his life, Carto saw black slums in the South. At first, he was somewhat sympathetic to their plight and impoverished conditions. Eventually, however, he came to believe that blacks were qualitatively different than whites. As he has said, blacks "see things differently," "have a different work ethic," and are "are content to live in slums." Rejecting what he sees as media-induced racial guilt, Carto believes that whites have done much for the welfare of blacks in America.[4]

During this period, Carto later recalled that he began to sense that something was "wrong" both at home and abroad. Increasingly, he came to feel that American leaders were out of touch with the interests of the American people. Furthermore, he came to the conclusion that on virtually every issue—whether it was immigration, foreign policy, economics, taxes, or race relations—the media supported those positions that ran counter to the interests and wishes of the American people.[5]

Yet despite these nascent political opinions, Carto was still basically apolitical at this time. However, during his travels his political views began to crystallize. He eventually ended up in San Francisco at the time when the Korean War commenced in 1950. While there, he was promoted from distributor to crew manager at Proctor and Gamble and eventually to checker (i.e., a supervisory position, in which he "checked" other crews). However, in that same year, the exigencies of the war forced Procter and Gamble to terminate the department in which he worked. The wartime demands ran short of glycerin, which was used to make soap. Consequently, Carto had to look for a new job.

Carto soon found a new job at a small loan company called the Household Finance Corporation. He claimed to have learned more at that job than he could have learned in any four-year college program. Once settled, he began his career as a political organizer.[6] Toward that end, he launched a newsletter that would prove to be the vehicle for his initial foray into far right politics.

4

Right

Origins of *Right*

Willis Carto began his involvement in right-wing politics in 1952.[1] In that year, he made contact with Willis Stone, who introduced him to Aldrich Blake. A staunch civil libertarian, Stone was the founder of the Liberty Amendment Committee, which sought to curtail the growth of the national government. At that time, Blake led an organization called Liberty and Property, which was the successor organization to America Plus. Blake recruited Carto to work on a small publication, *The Job Can be Done!* Published in 1954, this tract was meant to serve as a plan for action to stem the impending tide of racial integration in the United States. In 1955, he published a more thorough exegesis on the topic titled *The Civil Rights Revolution*.[2] By 1954, Blake was in his late sixties and decided to hand over the reins of Liberty and Property to the much younger Carto, who assumed the title of "executive secretary."[3] Carto incorporated the organization under the direction of Aldrich Blake as a nonprofit group in California. Blake also let Carto use his mailing list which enabled him to reach out to many potential supporters. Soon thereafter, Carto decided to enter political organizing on a full-time basis. Around that same time, he began developing the idea of creating Liberty Lobby. In the summer of 1955, he embarked on a 7,500-mile journey across the United States, in which he expanded Liberty and Property's contacts with other right-wing activists and supporters.[4]

On October 1, 1955, Carto launched the first issue of *Right: The National Journal of Forward-Looking Americanism*, which was in the style of a newsletter. The publication ran until 1960. Essentially, *Right* espoused a nationalism that included "noninterventionism, militant unilateralism, and a measure of economic autarky" (i.e., national self-sufficiency).[5] Originally, Carto started *Right* (the newsletter would soon be known by this abbreviated title) under the pseudonym "E. L. Anderson."[6] C. W. Thomas was listed on the masthead as the editor, and the mailing address listed on the newsletter was 418 Ellis St., San Francisco. The newsletter was originally priced at twenty-five cents, and an annual subscription cost three dollars. Seeking to unify the disparate elements of the conservative movement, Carto took credit for publishing the

first *National Directory of Rightist Groups, Publications, and Some Individuals in the United States*. The directory was meant to foster unity throughout the right, as it listed contacts of like-minded groups and activists. The last edition had about three thousand entries. Eventually Steve Goodyear took it over and published it periodically for several years.[7]

In the pages of *Right*, the worldview of the postwar American radical right crystallized. A review of the major themes covered in *Right* illustrates the ideological orientation of the newsletter.

Anti-Communism

Launched during the most antagonistic period of the Cold War, it is not surprising that anti-Communism loomed large in *Right*. Communism was often conflated with other issues to suggest a much larger conspiracy of subversion. For example, some commentators in the radical right contended that an initiative to fluoridate drinking water had sinister ulterior motives. An article in *Right* by Mrs. Herman J. Kuppers warned of the putative harmful side effects of fluoridation, including causing brittleness in the bones, blood clotting, loss of hair, lower birth rate, liver damage, anemia, and damage to the nervous system.[8] Another article reported on a study conducted on rats that were exposed to fluoride and suggested that the additives resulted in bone, kidney, and tooth deterioration![9] According to *Right*, a coalition composed of parties pursuing their own selfish interests—including the Rockefeller Aluminum Trust (ALCOA), the federal bureaucracy, the liberal establishment, and the Communist Party—was behind the push to fluoridate drinking water.[10]

One significant innovation of Carto's was the blending of the more respectable anti-Communist themes with racialist and anti-Semitic narratives. For example, John Owen Beaty's *Iron Curtain Over America* was circulated widely in circles linked to Willis Carto.[11] Beaty, a professor of English literature at Southern Methodist University, published *The Iron Curtain Over America* in 1951. The book blended anti-Communism with anti-Semitic themes. During World War II, Beaty attained the rank of major and served as chief of the Historical Section of the War Department General Staff. Not unlike Francis Parker Yockey (see chapter 7), Beaty saw World War II as a disaster for the West in that the defeat of Germany led to a "monstrous surrender of Western heritage." He argued that, through its propaganda, diplomacy, and military power, the United States had contributed decisively to the injury of the Western community. Instead, He advocated an American foreign policy based on close alignment with Spain and the Islamic world that would also feature a withdrawal from the United Nations. Furthermore, he disparaged the legitimacy of the state of Israel, and he always referred to that country in quotation marks. Several retired high-ranking military officers endorsed his book.[12] Prefiguring the revisionist historians, Beaty cast doubt on the six-million figure of victims of the Jewish Holocaust.[13]

Right once described Russian Communism as a "gilt-edged fake" that was created with the ulterior motive "to unite the colored world against the West, and to enlist the sympathy of the dumb liberals of the West to the cause of Slav world hegemony." Ominously, *Right* warned that the triumph of Communism would probably result in the exportation of millions of Americans to Russia to work as slave laborers.[14] One article predicted that the Soviet Union would reach the moon before the United States. The Soviet Union was said to have had a decided advantage over the West insofar as the former could utilize the huge Russian landmass, German technical skill, unlimited Asian manpower, and "the services of thousands of traitors high in the councils of the West."[15]

Notwithstanding its vehement anti-Communist and anti-Soviet orientation, *Right* nevertheless exhibited a certain respect for Russia as a cultural unit.[16] According to *Right*, by the late 1950s, international Marxism was undergoing a process of bifurcation. One faction consisted of "Kremlin directed Soviet imperialists," while the other was composed of "Zionist-influenced 'home-grown' Trotskyites" in the United States. *Right* contended that patriotic Americans should concentrate on defeating the near enemy in the United States rather than get involved in a ruinous war overseas.[17]

According to *Right*, the United States had fallen behind the Soviet Union militarily. NATO, Carto insisted, was woefully unprepared to thwart a Soviet-led conventional attack in Europe, as the Warsaw Pact maintained a numerical edge in ground troops. The NATO defense alliance was dismissed as a plot to strip Europe of her sovereignty and make the continent a province of a world socialist government.[18] To counter this threat, Carto argued that only technology could stem and deter Soviet aggression. Therefore, all industrial and technical wherewithal must be harnessed against "the masses of enemy infantry." Carto claimed that traitors in the West had deliberately allowed the Soviets to attain a strategic advantage. First, at the end of World War II, the Soviets were allowed to capture German nuclear and rocket scientists who were instrumental in developing the Soviet nuclear and ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile) programs. Second, sympathizers in the West purloined nuclear secrets that were funneled to the Soviet Union, thereby allowing the Soviets to develop a hydrogen bomb, which ended America's monopoly on that particular weapon.[19]

To counter the Soviet threat, *Right* proposed the creation of a "Survival Commission," which would be composed of patriots who would investigate why the United States had fallen behind the Soviet Union "in certain technological, nuclear, aeronautical and missile fields." *Right* blamed the putative U.S. decline on the "treason" of the Democratic and Republican parties.[20] In another article, Peter J. Huxley-Blythe, the English editor of *World Survey*, lamented that the United States took a defensive posture vis-à-vis the Soviet Union by hiding behind inter-continental ballistic missiles, which amounted to a modern-day Maginot Line. The Soviets were pleased to see the United States spend itself into weakness as the former kept on the offensive. To meet this challenge, Huxley-Blythe proposed the creation of "Victory Without War Committees" in every part of the country, which would raise support for anti-Communists residing in the Communist bloc, not unlike efforts by the Comintern to infiltrate the counties of the West.[21] Huxley-Blythe was active in an organization called the Russian Revolutionary Forces, which consisted of Russian émigrés residing in the West that opposed the Soviet Union.[22] The blame for Communist expansion was often placed on President Eisenhower.

Critique of President Eisenhower

His exemplary military record notwithstanding, Dwight D. Eisenhower was the *bête noire* of the far right in the 1950s. Eisenhower was accused of being soft on Communism, perhaps even being a closet sympathizer. Robert Welch of the John Birch Society was the first figure to implicate Eisenhower in the Communist conspiracy. Gerald L. K. Smith suggested this as well.[23] The president's allegiance to America was often called into question. For example, *Right* pointed to the former general's cordial relationship with his Soviet counterpart, Marshall Zhukov.[24] Glenn O. Young alleged that Eisenhower proudly wore a medal—the Order of Victory—that he had received from the Soviet Union. The medal was described as diamond-studded, with an estimated commercial value of up to $100,000![25]

Corruption of American leaders and elites was seen as an endemic problem. Eisenhower was not the only president whose loyalty was called into question. It was alleged that political Zionism was responsible for the corruption of several American presidents. An editorial in the December 1956 issue of *Right* accused Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt of being the tools of the British, the Zionists, and international bankers. These powers supposedly wanted to destroy Germany. Eisenhower was seen as following in this tradition. Furthermore, he was accused of trying to involve the United States in Middle Eastern politics at the behest of Israel. Instead, *Right* called for a policy of strict isolationism, arguing that the United States should have kept out of both world wars.[26]

Eisenhower was also seen as excessively punitive to Germany. *Right* sympathized with the peoples of defeated Germany and Japan. In this vein, it endorsed the Committee for Return of Confiscated German and Japanese Property.[27] *Right* also condemned the imprisonment of Nazi war criminals convicted at Nuremberg, including Rudolf Hess, Albert Speer, and Baldur von Schirach.[28] Hitler was depicted as a statesman who wanted to maintain peace in Europe, and who even sent his emissary, Hess, to Britain in order to bring peace between that nation and Germany. Furthermore, *Right* blamed the British government, not the German government, for initiating the policy of mass civilian bombing during World War II.[29]

Not only did the putative anti-German orientation of U.S. policy alienate the United States from an important ally, but it also imperiled American national security. A frequent charge in the early postwar era was that the U.S. government deliberately allowed the best German scientists to be captured by the Soviets so that they could be put to work on the Soviet nuclear program. According to *Right*, the Soviets obtained seventy thousand of these German scientists, while the other Allied nations obtained only a few hundred.[30] This was taken as proof positive of Communist infiltration of the highest echelons of the American government. According to this argument, the combination of German technical genius and Soviet aggression constituted a dire threat to the West. President Eisenhower was depicted as a callous man who allowed millions of anti-Communist Russians, Poles, Balts, and Balkans to fall into the hands of vengeful Soviets after the war under "Operation Keelhaul," and in doing so, to face almost certain death.[31] Moreover, Eisenhower was held responsible for the deaths of two to five million anti-Communists in 1945.[32] An entire issue of *Right* was once devoted to "exposing" Eisenhower. Part one charged him with the "greatest crime in history," that is, "[selling] out a whole civilization and way of life." Eisenhower was accused of giving aid to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Furthermore, he supposedly staffed his administration with internationalist millionaires, who did not have America's best interests at heart. To the dismay of *Right*, neither Eisenhower nor Adlai Stevenson passed muster as an acceptable presidential candidate in 1956.[33]

Eisenhower was also blamed for the "betrayal" of Hungary and accused of complicity in the execution of thousands of Hungarian anti-Communists in 1945.[34] A guest article in the October 1958 issue of *Right* by Geza Korda, a Hungarian expatriate and editor of *Szabad Magyarsag* (Free Hungarians), a Hungarian-language anti-Communist paper, warned that although the United States could not be defeated by foreign powers, it nevertheless faced a lethal domestic peril in the guise of racial integration. Marking May 17, 1954, as "Black Monday" (the day on which the U.S. Supreme Court announced its landmark *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* decision) and a turning point in American history, Korda tied the liberation of Hungary to the welfare of America. As he explained, once Hungary was liberated from the Communist yoke, most Hungarian expatriates would return to their homeland and maintain a close connection with the United States; in doing so, they would strengthen ties between the two countries.[35]

The Middle East Conflict

In addition to Communist expansion in Europe, *Right* also expressed concern about the direction of American foreign policy in the Middle East. Indeed, the Middle East conflict has consistently been featured prominently in Carto's numerous publications. Usually, the crux of that crisis has been ascribed to a perfidious Zionist conspiracy. Initially, however, *Right* claimed in 1957 that American foreign policy in the Middle East was being driven not by Zionists and Israel, but by Standard Oil. The Rockefellers were accused of subverting American policy to serve their own selfish agenda. To support this assertion, *Right* pointed out that the Trans-Arabian pipeline was owned by the Rockefeller interests and was built with the money of American taxpayers.[36] However, just two issues later, *Right* reported that the Zionists were beginning to win their "backstage struggle" with Big Oil over control of American foreign policy in the Middle East.[37] Yet, in an effort to appear respectable, *Right* claimed to take a neutral position on "the Jews":

> In trying to do our selfless task we have been assailed by all sorts of zealots. There are those, for instance, who see all of the evil in the world wrapped up in Jews. And there are others who have a strange, overweening compulsion to love, protect and coddle Jews. RIGHT has been strongly damned by both of these sorry types. As for RIGHT, we are not interested in Jews, either pro or con, and refuse to be drawn into a battle with fellow White Christians over them. White men have fought, weakened and killed other White men much too much over the welfare of Jews and Negroes. We have had enough of this. We categorically refuse to be a part of the subversive and stupid plans of either camp of fanatic.[38]

As time went on, however, *Right* became increasingly strident in its criticism of Zionism and Jews. *Right* excoriated Israeli aggression against its Middle Eastern neighbors, and Israel was accused of committing atrocities against Muslim youths in Gaza.[39] Zionism was implicated as the principal force in fomenting the both world wars. In subsequent issues, *Right* highlighted the Balfour Declaration (named after Lord Arthur James Balfour), which essentially promised Zionist leaders British cooperation with the establishment of a Jewish homeland if they would work to persuade American *lion*, which was his initial foray in Holocaust denial.[59] A German rightist, Bruno Ludtke, introduced Rockwell to the central premises of Holocaust revisionism. Rockwell saw the potential for Holocaust revisionism as a way in which to overcome the postwar stigma that had burdened Nazism.[60] For his part, Carto concedes that Rockwell was "scornful of the Holocaust," but he claims that all of his files on the Rockwell era "have been destroyed by arson or theft."[61] Like Carto, Rockwell also reached out to Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad insofar as he supported his separatist aspirations.[62]

Rockwell's deputy and eventual successor, Matt Koehl, wrote an article for *Right* titled "Nation and Race," in which he urged the West to develop a new morality based on the precept of race. By doing so, a new system of ethics that would align "instinct, will and reason" would provide the West with a "new meaning, new purpose, [and] new direction." Therefore only one standard was necessary to bring about this new age: "What serves the race is right." As Koehl explained it, universal standards had no utility in a world of conflicting interests, and would therefore be of no use in the coming struggle. He predicted that a new era would eventually rise from the ruins of the old order: "The archaic dogmas of contemporary society now stand as a row of dilapidated buildings, condemned by the historic process, above the rubble of which will rise the new structure of the future."[63] Given his staunch support for racialism and segregationist policies, it is not surprising that Carto would reach out to separatists, even those of different races.

Racial Separatism

As one observer has noted, Carto espouses an apartheid type of fascism in which the world should consist of racially separate nation states.[64] In many ways *Right* was ahead of its time in that the newsletter occasionally contained articles that championed black separatists. There would not be comparable efforts in the far right until decades later.

Black separatism frequently received favorable coverage in *Right*. An early issue pointed out that "[t]he Negro nationalist movement [had] a long, fascinating history; considerably longer than the NAACP-communist movement for integration." Black separatists, including Archbishop C. C. Addison, who was critical of the NAACP, and the founder of the Back to Africa movement, Marcus Garvey, were lauded as true black patriots. The newsletter urged the American right wing to reach out to black separatists and support their efforts for repatriation to Africa. Five current separatist movements and their addresses were listed, including the African Universal Church, Church of Ethiopian World Federation, Inc., Peace Movement of Ethiopia, Universal African Nationalist Movement, and Universal Negro Improvement Association.[65] A sympathetic mention was made of Samuel A. Davis, who advocated repatriation on religious grounds. His theology was an inverted form of Christian Identity in that he argued that blacks were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. Senator William Langer (R-ND) even went so far as to introduce legislation (S 759) that was designed to provide federal assistance to voluntary migrants to Liberia, a country settled in large part by freed American slaves during the nineteenth century. According to an article in *Right*, Langer was persuaded by Earnest Sevier Cox to introduce the bill into Congress.[66] In early 1959, another bill was introduced by Senator Richard B. Russell (D-GA), which would have provided financial assistance to blacks who chose "to move from the South to the 'prejudice free' North."[67]

Earnest Sevier Cox wrote an article for *Right* titled "Brief History of the Back-to-Africa Movement," which traced the history of the movement back to the African-American settlement of Liberia. He identified Paul Cuffe, a free Negro, as the progenitor of the movement, who, along with a crew of black seamen, arrived on the coast of Sierra Leone in 1811 and made arrangements for black emigrants to settle in the area. In 1815, at his own expense, Cuffe brought a shipment of blacks from Massachusetts to Sierra Leone. After Cuffe died in 1817, prominent white Americans founded the American Colonization Society to assist black repatriation to Africa. Numerous American statesmen of the nineteenth century voiced support for this project, including Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Abraham Lincoln.

Most notably, Cox lauded the efforts of such figures as Marcus Garvey as true champions of the black race, who gallantly sought self-determination for their oppressed people. Garvey, whose Universal Negro Improvement Association eventually became international in scope, garnered support from other countries around the world. Cox claimed that membership may have even reached six million. In Garvey, Cox saw a genuine black nationalist who drew the ire of the integrationist NAACP, whose leaders preferred that blacks remain in America and fight for equality and racial integration.[68]

A guest column by S. A. Davis, an African American, suggested that whites in American urban areas create clubs at which blacks could register to go to Liberia and other African countries. He argued that many blacks supported the Langer bill but were afraid to support it for fear of possible reprisals, such as loss of job. He also argued that many blacks secretly supported repatriation but were stymied by the efforts of certain black preachers and members of the black middle class, including lawyers, politicians, doctors, teachers, "and a few supposed-to-be intellectuals." As Davis put it, these elements represented “the stumbling blocks in the Little Negro’s path to success and freedom.” His advice was that the Langer bill should be passed so that “we can have some peace on earth for a change.”[69]

In that same issue, another African American, Clennon King, suggested that there were only three ways out of the Negro’s quandary: “peaceful racial co-existence, integration, and repatriation.” King argued that a significant racial admixture had occurred among African Americans, thus producing what he called the Negro. As a result, over many years, African Americans had become racially different from their original African ancestors. Meaningful integration, King believed, would take much time. What is more, he actually saw repatriation as a way in which to facilitate integration insofar as if the former were voluntarily offered, then those blacks that remained would do so on their own volition. Only if Negroes were free and respected as men would peaceful co-existence be possible in America. True integration could only be achieved when both sides desired to be partners in a scheme of co-existence. Therefore, both blacks and whites must be free to choose integration or racial separation. King believed that as long as Negroes resided in America against their will, black-white relations would remain problematic. He did not call, however, for forced repatriation; rather he recommended an “open door” that would allow for a return to Africa.[70]

The African American Archbishop, C. C. Addison, wrote an editorial for *Right* in which he encouraged nationalists of all races to work together. As Addison explained, both blacks and whites would first have to take an active interest in their own welfare before they could genuinely take an interest in the affairs of others. Therefore, “the salvation of humanity [was] in the hands of the Nationalists of all races and nations, and peace [could only be attained] though the mutual self-help of them all.”[71]

The July 1959 issue of *Right* was devoted almost exclusively to the topic of black nationalism, unabashedly announcing its support for the movement as an expression of racial self-determination. The Black Muslims were described as more dynamic than their Christian Negro counterparts. Enthusiastically, *Right* reported that blacks were increasingly turning against the religion (Christianity) that whites had forced upon them. *Right* tacitly condoned a trend in which the peoples of Africa, Asia, and even Latin America were returning to their ancient tribal religions. Conversely, *Right* believed that proselytizing non-whites to Christianity was wrong-headed, perhaps due to Communist influence inside the Church. In order to avoid racial friction, *Right* called for a friendly liaison between white and Negro nationalists. Furthermore, it exhorted them to concentrate on the “common enemy” of “Zionism—the poisoner of all people.” Despite this proposed liaison, *Right* still maintained that history had demonstrated that “Negro natives” were incapable of maintaining civilizations of their own and were only able to survive because of the largess provided by the “Masters of world capital,” including the Rockefellers, the Lehman Brothers, Henry Luce, C. Douglas Kuhn, Loeb & Co., “and all the rest of the traitorous Bilderberger gang.”[72]

With interest, *Right* reported on the growing black nationalist sect, the Nation of Islam (NOI), led by Elijah Muhammad. It observed that Muhammad and many of his members felt a close kinship with Arabs, to whom they believed they were blood-related. This development, *Right* submitted, caused great consternation for the Zionists, who demanded separation for themselves and integration for everyone else.[73] *Right* concurred with Muhammad’s decision not to support the U.S. war effort during World War II, as the black leader reasoned that American blacks had no business fighting a war for white people. *Right* also endorsed Muhammad’s refusal to fight the Japanese on the basis that he would not kill “other Asiatics [Muhammad classified blacks as Asiatics].” Although *Right* conceded that the Nation of Islam was “very anti-White,” it nevertheless expressed admiration for the discipline that Muhammad had instilled in his reported two hundred thousand NOI members. Furthermore, he was commended for his oppositional stance toward Israel and Zionism.[74] That same issue carried a column by Elijah Muhammad in which he urged the darker people of the world to unite against the white race. Islam, he posited, was the proper vehicle to effect this goal. Only by coming to Islam could American Negroes regain their identity and resurrect their knowledge of “Self, God and the devil.” In Muhammad’s analysis, Christianity was woefully inadequate as a religion to unite black people. Christianity was characterized as a “slavery religion” that did not provide “two cents worth of divine protection” against “devil rapers and lynchers.” Furthermore, he averred that it had even failed to unite the white race, as witnessed by the numerous wars fought among its various peoples. He marked 1914 as the year in which the future and peace of the white race began to end.[75]

The black conservative commentator George S. Schuyler derided the Black Muslims and argued that inasmuch as blacks would probably have a permanent presence in the United States, it was counterproductive to isolate the community from the rest of the nation. Such an approach would encourage a physical ghetto for blacks and stymie their economic advancement.[76] In reply, *Right* characterized the integrationist Schuyler as “a gilt-edge phony Negro nationalist.” Needless to say, the fact that Schuyler was married to a white woman was anathema to the racialist sensibilities of *Right*.[77] In 1960, Carto wrote a letter to Frank Hanighen, the founder of *Human Events*, in which he criticized the journal for publishing articles by Phillipa Schuyler, a journalist and concert pianist who was the daughter of George Schuyler, whose marriage to a white woman he deplored. Describing Phillipa as "the hybrid offspring" of an interracial couple who "eschewe[d] the Supreme Court as the 'solution' for segregation. . . [and are] avid crusaders and practitioners of a far speedier road toward racial mongrelazation—the road leading through the boudoir."[78]

The October 1958 issue of *Right* carried an article by George Leggett, a young man who was accused, but later exonerated, of plotting to rob a bank and use the proceeds to create a dictatorship in America. Leggett, along with his assistant, Frederick Dillenburger, founded the United Confederationists of the World, an organization that consisted of seven subgroups that represented the seven principal races of man. The organization advocated separation of, and self-determination for, the various races. Each race was encouraged to work with its own kind to create a better world. Leggett argued that racial interbreeding was contrary to both natural and divine laws. He proposed that blacks should be repatriated to Africa, in part because the United States was overpopulated while Africa was underpopulated.[79]

Carto persisted in this effort in later years. For example, in 1990, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan granted an exclusive interview to the *Spotlight*.[80] More important has been Carto's association with Robert Brock, a black nationalist in California, who served as the president of the Self-Determination Committee, an organization that called on the federal government to provide reparations to descendants of black slaves.[81] Consistent with his separatist worldview, Brock supported the so-called Pace Amendment, which demands the repatriation of all non-whites from the United States. Brock joined Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, and he also served as an advisory member of the Populist Action Committee; in addition, he has written articles for the *Spotlight*.[82] Dabbling in Holocaust denial, he founded a revisionist group—United for Holocaust Fairness—which sponsored a conference in 1992 called "Holocaust Studies and the First Amendment." The outspoken and controversial Afrocentric academic, Dr. Leonard Jeffries, then chairman of Black Studies at the City University of New York, was scheduled to speak, but did not attend.[83] In April 1993, Brock was the only African American who joined a protest against the dedication of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Liberty Lobby promoted a book Brock edited, *Keystone of the New World Order: The Holocaust Dogma of Judaism*, which was written by Ben Weintraub and published in 1995.[84] Brock also reached out to the Nation of Islam, and in April 1994, NOI spokesman Khalid Abdul Muhammad praised him in a vitriolic speech at Howard University in Washington, D.C., which gained widespread notoriety. Brock has also made contacts with far rightists overseas, including the Deutsche Volksunion in Germany and Vladimir Zhirinovsky of Russia. According to one account, in 1997, at the first annual Conference of Racial Separatism, Carto, along with Osiris Akkebala (the founder of a black nationalist organization called the Pan-Afrikan International), Don Black (a longtime associate of David Duke and creator of the Stormfront Web site), and Robert Brock, appeared as featured speakers.[85] At the June 2001 *Barnes Review* conference in Washington, D.C., Anita Belle, an outspoken African American attorney, presented a black perspective on Zionism and described her inquiries into the alleged joint operations of the CIA and Mossad in the illicit international drug trade.[86] As recently as 2005, Carto has championed black separatism and even wrote a short history of the American Colonization Society, the organization founded in 1817 that sought to repatriate American blacks to Africa, and that, as noted above, received support from several prominent American politicians and activists.[87]

Over the years, Carto has walked a fine line with respect to his politics. On the one hand, he has promoted and interacted with arguably some of the most extreme elements of the far right. On the other hand, he has endeavored to present his various publications and organizations as respectable and mainstream. Toward that latter goal, Carto undertook numerous efforts to build a solid foundation for the far right.

Organizing Efforts

Frequently, *Right* announced meetings that sought to build unity among the disparate groups of the far right. One such meeting was convened on January 27, 1956, in Chicago, which brought together leaders and representatives of several organizations, including We, the People, For America, the National Economic Council, Liberty and Property, the Congress of Freedom, and various Southern segregationist groups. Harry Everingham, the executive of We, the People, was elected as chairman to represent the coalition of groups. Delegates to the meeting discussed ways in which to run patriotic candidates for political office.[88]

The Congress of Freedom was an organization with which Carto was closely affiliated in the late 1950s. He was one of its early leaders and was the chairman of its 1955 conference in San Francisco.[89] The organization was founded by Arnold Kruckman, a Washington, D.C., public relations specialist. The *raison d'être* of the organization was to serve as a sounding board for conservatives who strongly opposed the United Nations.[90] During the 1950s, the organization was led by Glenn O. Young of Sapulpa, Oklahoma.[91] One of its members was an attractive brunette and mother, Mrs. James Thorsen, the editor-publisher of *New Mexico Women Speak*. She was an early tax protestor, who refused to pay taxes to the federal government on the grounds of the

Fifth Amendment.[92] The ADL once reported that the Congress of Freedom allowed numerous anti-Semites in the organization's ranks.[93]

The delegates of various patriotic groups held another convention on August 12, 1956, at which it was decided that they would seek to move the two major parties in a more conservative direction. As *Right* bewailed, "the enemy controls the two parties and America by confusing and obscuring the real issues, and it does this by keeping the party members at each others' throats over non-existent or minor issues while retaining a monopoly over the important issues."[94] Out of these various meetings emerged a consensus that a new umbrella organization was necessary to serve as a focal point for the rightist movement.

Toward this end, Harry T. Everingham announced in *Right* a threefold mission for the patriotic movement. First, he called for the unification of "all good Americans who are already informed and ready for action" into a single movement under the aegis of We, The People. Second, he suggested a long-term plan to "re-educate the thinking people of America" so that they would support the rightist agenda. Third, he proposed an aggressive effort to recruit a more active leadership for the movement.[95]

Still another meeting was held in Chicago from September 13 to 15, 1957, under the auspices of We, The People. Harry Everingham and former Congressman Kit Clardy led the gathering. The delegates "hammered out a battery of pro-American resolutions," including calls to repeal the personal income tax and the endorsement of the nascent Liberty Lobby.[96] This was followed by another convention in April 1958 in Kansas City sponsored by the Congress of Freedom at which delegates once again voiced support for Liberty Lobby.[97]

Delegates of We, the People, convened again in Chicago in the fall of 1958 and chose Ralph W. Gwinn, a retiring congressman, to lead the organization. The convention attracted several members of Congress who spoke to the group, including Clare Hoffman (R-MI), August Johnson (R-MI), and Emmett Byrne (R-IL).[98] This was followed by yet another convention held in Chicago in July 1959, at which members from an assortment of rightist groups gathered together, including the National States Rights Party, the National Party, and the Constitution Party, among others. A National Committee for a National Party was created and Roderick J. Wilson was selected as national chairman. Other officers included Dr. Edward R. Fields as executive vice-chairman,[99] and Major F. J. Toohey as secretary-treasurer.[100] *Right* announced the intention of the newly created body to invite black separatist delegates to its national convention, who would receive 10 percent of the votes at the convention with the proviso that they would support a platform that would include the voluntary repatriation of blacks to Africa. To that end, a Joint Council for Repatriation was formed, which proposed that "$1,000 worth of surplus food and manufactured goods" be provided each year to "every Negro pioneer to Africa."[101]

Finally, on October 24, 1959, a convention was held in Chicago during which a National Committee of Constitutional Parties was formed in order to unite the various state constitution parties scattered around the United States as well as the Michigan Tax Cut Party, Pennsylvania for America, and the Conservative Party of West Virginia. William Robert Plumme, the chairman of the New York Constitution Party, was elected as vice-chairman and acting chairman of the National Committee. Other officers included Thomas B. Carson, an Illinois attorney, who was chosen as the chairman of the Executive Committee; Mrs. Lena Lee Clark of California, who was selected to be the chairman of the Women's Division; and Mrs. Sara Fuller of New York, who served as both secretary and acting treasurer.[102]

In addition to these organizing efforts, Carto sought to build support for rightist candidates running for office as well.

Support for Candidates

Periodically, Carto has dabbled in electoral politics. For example, he promoted the Constitution Party for many years, as early issues of *Right* informed readers of the party's activities.[103] In 1957, William Potter Gale ran as the Constitution Party candidate in the gubernatorial race in Arkansas. He denounced Eisenhower's use of federal troops in the desegregation of Arkansas' public schools and even filed a criminal indictment against him.[104] *Right* later compared the actions of American soldiers that participated in the forced desegregation to convicted Nazi war criminals that were obeying the orders of their superior officers. Under the legal precedent of the Nuremberg tribunal, *Right* argued that soldiers could be held personally responsible for such "unlawful behavior."[105] A year later, Gale ran under the Constitution Party's label for the governorship of California.[106] In the 1980s, Gale would go on to lead a tax-protest organization called the Posse Comitatus—a forerunner of the militia groups that were active in the 1990s. In 1957, *Right* supported the candidacy of Vito Batista, who ran for mayor of New York City as the candidate of the United Taxpayers Party.[107] In the South, *Right* supported the candidacy of retired Admiral John G. Crommelin for the governorship of Alabama in 1958. Crommelin reciprocated by writing a letter in which he expressed his appreciation. The United White Party endorsed the candidacies of Lee Foster, who ran for governor of Tennessee, George Lincoln Rockwell, who ran for governor of Georgia, and Millard Grubs, who ran for governor of Kentucky.[108] Crommelin later ran for a senate seat in Alabama on an openly segregationist platform, and *Right* heartily endorsed his candidacy.[109] After the election, he contributed an article to *Right* in which he blamed his electoral defeat on, among other things, Jewish pressure. Crommelin came in second with 51,591 votes, but was far behind the winner, John J. Sparkman, who received 335,722 votes.[110] That same year, *Right* supported the candidacy of Robert Morris, the former chief counsel for the Internal Security subcommittee in the U.S. Senate. Morris wrote an anti-Communist tract titled, *No Wonder We Are Losing*.[111]

What emerged out of these various efforts was a consensus that a new organization was needed to unify the far right. Out of these efforts, eventually Liberty Lobby would be formed.

The End of *Right*

In September 1960, the sixtieth issue of *Right* announced that it would discontinue publication. In the course of the years, *Right* had called for jettisoning "respectable" approaches to ameliorate the plight of the white race. It castigated the apathy, greed, and gullibility of the white masses. On a more practical note, *Right* recommended that its readers support other rightist organizations and publications, including Conde McGinley's *Common Sense*, the *Southern African Observer*, *Northern World*, the National States Rights Party, and even the American Nazi Party.[112]

When reading back issues of *Right* today, one is struck by its radicalism. Looking back, the newsletter appears ahead of its time, as it championed certain positions with a stridency uncharacteristic of its far right contemporaries. While other rightist organs at least endeavored to create a veneer of moderation and respectability, *Right* became increasingly shrill and oppositional. In it, one could find unapologetic defenses of racial separatism based on the putative biological superiority of whites. Yet at the same time, *Right* reached out to like-minded blacks in order to forge a multiracial separatist coalition. Despite the fact that the Holocaust and World War II had occurred only a few years earlier, the newsletter became more and more open in its criticism of Jews and defensive of certain aspects of fascism and National Socialism. Entry into World War I was identified as the crucial event, which put America on a destructive trajectory and set in motion trends that led to the Great Depression, the rise of Bolshevism, fascism, and Nazism. *Right* unabashedly stated that the United States fought on the wrong side in World War II. The war and its aftermath threatened to destroy Western civilization. Jews were implicated as the principal agents in this sad state of affairs. They were blamed for blackmailing Woodrow Wilson into involving the United States in World War I.

Yet just as the radicalism of *Right* was reaching its crescendo, Carto seemed to pull back and once again pursued a more moderate course, as he sought to reposition himself as a respectable conservative activist. In order to better organize the collective efforts of the far right, Carto believed that a solid foundation was necessary. Toward that goal, he announced the creation of Liberty Lobby.

6

The Birth of Liberty Lobby

Origins

After a few years of involvement in politics, Carto decided that a new organization was necessary to mobilize the far right. As he explained, Liberty and Property did not really get anywhere, and eventually the project was terminated.[1] For this new endeavor, Carto looked for assistance in many quarters. He recalled that he got the idea of creating an organization to lobby Congress from a conversation he had with Colonel Alvin M. Owlsley. When Carto was the secretary of the Congress of Freedom, he visited Owlsley in Dallas in an effort to raise money for the project. According to Carto, Owlsley suggested that he set up a lobby in Washington. Carto took him up on his word, but later complained that "the son of a bitch [Owlsley] wouldn't give [him] a nickel."[2]

At first, Carto's project was met with skepticism in some segments of the far right. According to a Liberty Lobby publication, the Board of Directors of the Congress of Freedom declined in 1956 to support Liberty Lobby, as it felt that the project was too big in scale. Another Washington, D.C., conservative outlet called "Voters USA" openly criticized the goal of creating a Liberty Lobby in March 1958. Merwin K. Hart, the founder and president of the National Economic Council, gave verbal support for Liberty Lobby, but nothing else.[3] According to one account, members of a secret society—the Order of St. John—were instrumental in creating Liberty Lobby. Allegedly, Edward von Rothkirch, a member of the Order, helped Carto establish the Truth-in-Press, a subsidiary of Liberty Lobby and 501(c)3 tax-exempt organization.[4]

The exact date of the creation of Liberty Lobby is unclear. At first, the project was floated as an idea and later formally incorporated in Washington, D.C., on February 1, 1962.[5] One Liberty Lobby publication marked July 17, 1955, as its founding date, while another marked June 5, 1957, as the day on which the organization officially got underway.[6] The intention to create Liberty Lobby was first publicly heralded in the August 1957 issue of *Right*. The new organization was billed as a "large scale project," whose purpose was

to serve as a counter-lobby to the interests of "international socialists," as the announcement explained:

> What is needed, the LIBERTY LOBBY [emphasis in original] reasons is a lobby which will speak for the best interests of the American *as an American* [italics in original], instead of as a member of any particularly small, selfish special interest group. In addition, a Washington lobby is needed to consistently speak up for our country's national interests.[7]

In the next issue of *Right*, Carto contributed a special guest article called "A Liberty Lobby is Needed." Contrary to his usual practice, Carto published the article under his real name, and it was even accompanied by a photograph of him, in which he appeared as a handsome young man attired in a suit and tie. A sense of urgency informed Carto's explanation as to why a Liberty Lobby was needed:

> The entire system needs to be thrown out and a truly libertarian system re-established which will be in the interests of all the people, not just some.
>
> The Augean Stables need to be cleaned. A Second American Revolution is needed. But this presents many problems, the main one being simply that our side is not yet nearly strong enough nor well-organized enough . . . .
>
> Such a strategy requires the establishment of a beach-head on the battleground of Washington; an actual office must be set up, ready, willing and able to lock horns with the minority special interest pressure groups . . . .
>
> [T]he LOBBY [emphasis in original] will work in the "top"—right at the seat of federal power—while the grass roots groups will continue their essential work at the "bottom"—at the precinct and district level. Each type of operation will benefit the other. And together they will be far stronger than alone.
>
> A LIBERTY LOBBY [emphasis in original] will also bring Northern and Southern groups together for political action. This will pave the way for the long-overdue formal coalition of conservative forces which is so desperately needed.[8]

According to Liberty Lobby's charter, the purpose of the organization was, among other things, to counteract the influence of minority pressure groups; to restore constitutional government to the people of the United States; to defend the right of free speech and all of the rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights; to assure and perpetuate national defense; to expose and fight all forms of subversion; to persuade the "best of the citizenry" to become involved in public affairs and politics; to engage in political activity of all sorts; to conduct pertinent research and formally communicate findings to Congress and the public.[9]

Intensive fundraising activities were undertaken from 1955 through 1958 to generate seed money for the project. In 1957, a mailing was sent to roughly seven hundred conservatives, which outlined Carto's plan to create a "pressure group for patriotism." Carto hoped to raise $75,000, but fell far short and collected only $15,000.[10] The organization's original annual budget was only $10,000.[11] On June 23, 1958, Liberty Lobby's Research Department was established to operate as a news service and was located in the offices of the American Council of Christian Laymen.[12]

Liberty Lobby originally planned on formally starting up in Washington, D.C., on July 4, 1958, but there were some delays. By mid-1959, Liberty Lobby had opened its Washington office, and Colonel Eugene Pomeroy agreed to serve as its first secretary. He operated out of the office of his own organization, Defenders of the American Constitution, which was located in the National Press Building.[13] However, the organization was not fully functional until January 1961, when it officially began operations.[14] In order to be in close proximity to the federal government and effectively lobby lawmakers, Carto chose to move to 918 East Capitol Street in Washington, D.C. In 1963, Liberty Lobby moved into a three-story brick building on the site of an old German-American loan company and later the home of a wealthy Chinese businessman at 300 Independence Avenue, SE, in Washington, D.C., just two blocks from the U.S. Capitol.[15] By far right standards, the thirty-room building was impressive.

After its inception, Liberty Lobby grew substantially. Originally, the organization had about 2,000 supporters, who subscribed to its newsletter.[16] By March 1965, Liberty Lobby claimed that figure had reached 100,000, and just three months later, 125,000.[17] And by 1970, this figure reportedly climbed to 250,000.[18] At first, there were only two unpaid employees, but by 1969, there were 42 paid employees of whom 37 were full-time.[19] Beginning with a modest operating budget of $10,000 in 1957, by 1961 it had reached approximately $35,000. By 1968, the organization's annual budget had reached $825,903.[20] At its peak in the mid-1980s, this figure reached $4–$5 million, and it employed a staff of 50 employees.[21]

According to statements by its representatives, Liberty Lobby was primarily funded by voluntary contributions from modestly situated Americans.[22] Carto claims that his support comes from "little people," even those on welfare, who support his organization from time to time. Disdainfully, he once remarked that big money is too timid to get involved in controversial politics.[23] Over the years, Liberty Lobby has attracted support from some retired high-ranking military officers and a small handful of wealthy businessmen. Preferring to stay in the background, Carto remained as treasurer of Liberty Lobby—his official position. However, in actuality he was the de facto head of the organization and its driving force.[24]

In order to fortify and broaden the foundation of Liberty Lobby, Carto created the Board of Policy.

Board of Policy

According to the original plan, Liberty Lobby would be governed by a Board of Policy, which would consist of leaders and representatives from numerous patriotic groups.[25] Throughout its history, Liberty Lobby has been connected to many right wing and conservative causes.[26] In the summer of 1957, a temporary Advisory Board of Liberty Lobby was created, which included several far right luminaries.[27] The Advisory Board was later renamed the Board of Policy (BOP).[28]

Colonel Curtis B. Dall was selected as the first chairman of the BOP. Dall was a bit of an odd choice for the job. After all, he was the son-in-law of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt—the bête noire of Liberty Lobby. In June 1926, he married the president's only daughter, but they divorced in 1933. Born in New York City in 1897, Dall attended Princeton University and was commissioned as an ensign in naval aviation during World War I. After serving in the Army Air Force during World War II, he retired from the military.[29] Later, Dall would write a book, *FDR: My Exploited Father-in-Law*, which was critical of the banking establishment. His bent for conspiracy theories notwithstanding, Dall stopped short of implicating Jews qua Jews as the culprits; rather he depicted a contest between the "forces of evil" and the "forces of good."[30]

Officially, the BOP was responsible for the positions that Liberty Lobby took on various issues. Originally, the BOP took the following positions on forty-six different issues as outlined in table 6.1.

By early 1964, the Board had expanded to forty-five members.[31] As originally conceived, membership in the BOP was exclusive, consisting primarily of leaders of other right-wing organizations. However, in 1966, at the suggestion of W. B. Hicks, who became executive secretary of Liberty Lobby, Carto decided to open BOP membership to the general public and allow them to vote on the issues. Prospective members had to be at least eighteen years of age and sign an oath of loyalty to the U.S. Constitution. Generally, members were subscribers to *Liberty Letter* (see below) but agreed to a higher level of financial support.[32] By adopting these guidelines, Liberty Lobby greatly

Table 6.1. Board of Policy's Positions on Issues

Issue	Position
1. Foreign Aid-Against.	Against
2. Free Enterprise-For	For
3. Less Government Spending-For	For
4. Fewer Farm Controls-For	For
5. Pro-American Foreign Policy-For	For
6. So-called 'Civil Rights' Laws-Against	Against
7. States' Rights-For	For
8. Connally Reservation (reserved for the U.S. the right to determine when the U.S. had the right to determine when the World Court had jurisdiction)	For
9. GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)	Against
10. Independence for Puerto Rico	For
11. Lower Taxes	For
12. Monopoly in Business or Labor	Against
13. More Individual Responsibility	For
14. Pornography, Narcotics, Subversion of Youth	Against
15. Realignment of Parties	For
16. Recognition of Red China	Against
17. Separation of Church and State	For
18. Sound Dollar	For
19. Tax-supported Housing	Against
20. Tax-supported Power (Public Utilities)	Against
21. Withdrawal from the United Nations	For
22. World Government	Against
23. Federal Control of Education	Against
24. Federal Control of Medical Practice (e.g., Socialized Medicine)	Against
25. Protective Immigration Law (Immigration Restrictions)	For
26. Security Risks in Government (Potential Red Subversives)	Against
27. Civil Disobedience	Against
28. Freedom of the Press	For
29. Ground War in Asia	Against
30. Investigation for the State Department (for alleged penetration by Reds)	For
31. Right of the States to Establish Voter Qualifications	For
32. Right to Keep and Bear Arms	For
33. Tax Equity	For
34. Trade with Communist Nations	Against
35. Outlaw Communist Party	For
36. Four Year Terms for Congressmen	Against
37. Presidential Electoral College Reform-For the Mundt Plan (According to this plan, each congressional district in a state would be allowed to cast its own vote regardless of how other congressional districts in the state may have voted in the presidential election. This scheme contrasts with the state-wide winner-take-all systems in all of the American states except Maine and Nebraska).	For
38. Guaranteed Annual Income (Negative Income Tax)	Against
39. Minimum Wage Laws	Against
40. Breaking Diplomatic Relations with Red Bloc Nations	For
41. Immediate Withdrawal from Vietnam	Against
42. Federal Urban Renewal Programs	Against
43. Federal Forced Medication	Against
44. Food and Drug Administration Control of Food Sales	Against
45. Government Sponsored Social Science Foundation	Against
46. Right of Privacy for Citizens	For

Source: Liberty Lobby. *The How*. Washington, D.C.: Liberty Lobby, 1969, pp. 16–18, 21.

expanded its financial base. In January 1963, Liberty Lobby began publishing *Liberty Lowdown*—an in-house publication sent out to contributors.[33] By June 1966, the BOP was reported to have reached 11,000 members. Just a few months later, that figure jumped to 12,000.[34] By 1968, *Liberty Letter* reported that the Board had 15,000 members.[35] At its peak in the 1980s, that figure reached roughly 20,000.[36] Anne Cronin became the Board's secretary in 1964, and held that position until the organization was forced to dissolve in 2001. Dall stepped down as chairman in 1980, but served as chairman emeritus until his death on June 28, 1991.[37] He was replaced by Robert Bartell in the early 1980s.[38] Vince Ryan would later take over that position.[39]

Just how much influence the BOP had over Liberty Lobby is unclear. According to a 1964 statement, the "Liberty Lobby [could not] act on any issue without prior approval of the Board." However, Chairman Dall once admitted under oath in late 1963 that the Board never actually met.[40] Although the BOP provided a veneer of participatory democracy to Liberty Lobby, for the most part its only substantive decision was voting on the positions of the various public policy issues that the organization supported. For all intents and purposes, it appears that Carto made all of the important decisions with advice from his closest associates.

Liberty Lobby's BOP held its first convention on January 6–7, 1967, in Washington, D.C., at which more than three hundred attendees gathered. Speakers included Curtis B. Dall, W. B. Hicks, and two members of Congress: Rep. Albert Watson (R-SC), and Rep. John Rarick (D-LA).[41] J. Evetts Haley, the author of a highly critical book on President Johnson titled *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, delivered the banquet keynote address. Retired Major Arch Roberts, a former aide to General Edwin A. Walker, lectured on the "Impending Demise of the UN."[42] A Cuban expatriate, Mario G. Kohly, spoke out against Castro. Delegates to the convention were divided into five committees—Organization and Rules; Foreign Policy and National Security; Constitutionality and Government Organization; Economic Issues; and Social Issues. The committees released a number of positions, including calls to "break diplomatic relations with Red bloc nations," "immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam" (because the United States, under the command of the United Nations, was prohibited from "winning"), "U.S. non-intervention in the internal affairs of other western nations," and a "right to privacy for citizens." At the event, Curtis B. Dall was elected to serve as the chairman of the BOP.[43]

At the Liberty Lobby Convention held on May 2, 1964, Kenneth Goff, a former member of the Young Communist League, who had renounced his leftist past, served as the master of ceremonies. Mrs. Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, the head of We, The Mothers Mobilize for America, served as the moderator of the convention. The famed columnist Westbrook Pegler and Conde McGinley spoke at the event as well. Hailed by some as the most influential columnist in the English-speaking world for over three decades, Pegler wrote for some of the most prominent newspaper conglomerates, including Scripps-Howard and later Hearst.[44] A stalwart anti-Communist, Pegler, by the late 1950s, was writing columns that were increasingly regarded as anti-Semitic. McGinley edited the newspaper *Common Sense* and was the subject of a lengthy passage in a document released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954 titled the *Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups*.[45] At the time, *Common Sense* was an important rightist publication and served as a gateway for many who entered the movement.

Liberty Lobby took a multifaceted approach to its activism, which included educational tactics through both its publishing projects and grassroots legislative lobbying. To further this goal, *Liberty Letter* was launched.

Liberty Letter

The first issue of *Liberty Letter* was published on November 24, 1960. The newsletter was more mainstream in appearance and less strident in its rhetoric than its predecessor, *Right*. At first blush, it had the appearance of a respectable conservative organ. However, it still championed the traditional themes of the far right. A review of some of the issues covered in *Liberty Letter* is instructive.

The newly elected president, John F. Kennedy, came under frequent criticism for his political liberalism. The first issue of the newsletter questioned his electoral victory in the 1960 presidential race, pointing out that Kennedy won several states by only small margins. Moreover, there were accusations of fraud and misconduct, which, if true, may have deprived Nixon of victory. *Liberty Letter* encouraged Nixon to challenge the results of the election. Presaging Nixon's "Southern strategy" of 1968, Liberty Lobby urged him to reach out to the South.[46] *Liberty Letter* became a strident critic of the Kennedy administration, warning its subscribers that if it were allowed to carry out its platform, then "America [would] be buried in the muck of socialism and inflation." Furthermore, it charged JFK with nepotism, since he had appointed his brother to be the U.S. Attorney General.[47] Kennedy was also accused of a secret plot to sell important strategic minerals to the Communist bloc—minerals that could be used for the production of rockets and nuclear weapons.[48] With respect to economic policy, *Liberty Letter* attacked Kennedy's support of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which favored lowered tariffs and increased international trade. It also criticized his support of a minimum wage bill, describing it as inflationary and a violation of states' rights.[49]

Liberty Letter blamed the assassination of JFK on a Communist. Also, it questioned the suitability of Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren to conduct the probe into the assassination, since he allegedly hated anti-Communism and consistently favored leftist positions . Liberty Lobby even wired President Johnson and demanded the resignation of Earl Warren, who was accused of whitewashing the JFK assassination.[50] The Warren Commission came under fire for its focus on the coterie of right-wing extremists surrounding Oswald. Instead, Liberty Lobby argued that Oswald's association with elements of the political left was far more significant. After all, Oswald had previously defected to the Soviet Union and had visited Castro's Cuba.[51] According to Liberty Lobby, the Warren Commission was composed of several left-leaning figures, including Representative Hale Boggs (D-LA), who was allegedly photographed giving a clenched-fist Communist salute; Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-KY); Allen W. Dulles, the director of Central Intelligence during the Bay of Pigs fiasco and former president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR); John J. McCloy, chairman of the CFR and former chairman of the advisory board of the Disarmament Agency; Representative Gerald Ford (R-MI), described by Liberty Lobby as a "moderate"; and Senator Dick Russell (D-GA), described as "overworked."[52]

Anti-Communism persisted as a theme in *Liberty Letter*. Castro's revolution in Cuba added a sense of urgency to this issue. During the Cuban crisis of the late 1950s, Carto urged a cessation of foreign aid to the Caribbean island nation, arguing that the United States should not "be supporting a pro-Communist, anti-American government."[53] It even speculated that Castro was building an elite Marine Corps to be used to invade Spain![54] More presciently, *Liberty Letter* reported in August 1959 that Castro was building secret rocket bases on Cuban soil, which could conceivably be used as a launching pad for Soviet ICBMs into the United States.[55]

During the 1960s, *Liberty Letter* expended quite a bit of effort in opposing a proposed consular treaty with the Soviet Union, arguing that such a pact would enable the Soviets, among other things, to conceivably smuggle miniature nukes into the United States (which, in retrospect, may have been quite prophetic).[56] The Johnson administration was accused of red sympathies, seeking to allow the Soviets to establish an espionage network in the United States. Liberty Lobby protested that proponents of the consular treaty sought to circumvent the U.S. Senate, which is constitutionally responsible for ratifying treaties.[57] The Lobby's executive director, W. B. Hicks, wrote a public letter to Senator J. William Fulbright (D-AR), expressing his vehement opposition to the treaty. When the treaty was ultimately ratified by the Senate in 1967, Liberty Lobby averred that an "invisible government," which included the Rockefeller establishment, pressured lawmakers to support the measure.[58] This legislative defeat notwithstanding, Liberty Lobby demonstrated impressive grassroots activism during the affair, as its efforts were covered in an article in the Washington, D.C., newspaper, the *Evening Star*.[59]

Throughout the 1960s, Liberty Lobby fervently opposed several other proposed treaties, including the Consular Treaty, the Panama Canal Treaties, and the Genocide Treaty.[60] According to Liberty Lobby, the push for the Panama Canal Treaty came from the Kremlin, as a way in which to wrest control of the channel from the United States.[61] In later years, Liberty Lobby continued its opposition to the Panama Canal Treaty and lambasted President Jimmy Carter's "giveaway" of the canal in 1977, which eventually took effect in 1999.[62]

The Genocide Treaty came under harsh criticism as well. Liberty Lobby argued that it would allow Americans to be extradited and tried before the World Court, thus abrogating their constitutional rights to proper due process. Furthermore, the treaty was a slippery slope in that it would come to encompass seemingly unrelated offenses such as speech and actions that some governments designated as "hate speech" and "racial intolerance." In 1967, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would not allow representatives of Liberty Lobby to testify before the body on the treaty. Senator J. William Fulbright, who led the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was frequently characterized as a Communist sympathizer. Not to be deterred, Liberty Lobby urged its supporters to contact their representatives and voice their opposition. Although the committee approved the measure by a vote of 10-0, the version it passed included eight provisions designed to protect the national sovereignty of the United States.[63] In later years the treaty had significant support in the U.S. government, including the endorsement of President Ronald Reagan, the State and Justice Departments, and Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS).

Finally, Liberty Lobby voiced opposition to the Outer Space Treaty (which would essentially limit outer space exploration to peaceful purposes), arguing that its lack of an inspection provision would leave the United States vulnerable to an intercontinental ballistic attack by the Soviet Union.[64] The Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense Treaty was depicted as a Communist plot to weaken America against a Soviet nuclear attack.[65] Defense Secretary Robert McNamara was blamed for failing to provide adequate research for a viable antiballistic defense system.[66]

With respect to domestic policy issues, Liberty Lobby consistently opposed increased immigration into the United States, gun control, Medicare, tax bills, and the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Conversely, Liberty Lobby supported states' rights, school prayer, and legislation that would outlaw domestic Communist organizations (e.g., the Communist Party, U.S.A.).

Throughout the 1960s, Liberty Lobby continued to expand. Instructively, *Liberty Letter*'s circulation rose from 16,000 in 1963 to 200,000 by 1967.[67] It is believed to have enjoyed a larger circulation than the other major conservative organs of the era, including *National Review* and *Human Events*, which both published about 95,000 copies in 1966.[68]

Increasingly, Liberty Lobby took on the appearance of a politically oriented activist group, as it listed numerous congressional bills and its position on each of them. *Liberty Letter* usually contained a section on the right-hand column of the first page called "What You Can Do," which instructed readers on specific actions that they could take on the issues covered in the newsletter. The front page was often designed to convey a sense of urgency to the readers. And in March 1968, Liberty Lobby introduced the "Liberty Line"—a phone number at which callers could hear a three-minute recorded message that contained a rundown on important legislation in Congress.[69] Not long after establishing itself in Washington, D.C., Liberty Lobby sought to influence members of Congress to support a conservative agenda.

Lobbying Congress

Liberty Lobby has characterized itself as "a pressure group for patriotism." By far right standards, the organization is unique insofar as it has occasionally gained access to elected officials. This is in marked contrast to most of the far right, which either eschews conventional political means or is shunned by politicians. Carto's various publications encouraged their readers to contact their elected representatives on public policy issues. According to reports that Liberty Lobby submitted to the House of Representatives in the 1960s, roughly 10 percent of its income was devoted to lobbying.[70] For the most part, Liberty Lobby concentrated its lobbying efforts on the House of Representatives.[71]

A milestone was reached on August 30, 1958, when the Lobby published its first congressional voting analysis—*The Liberty Ledger*—a rating of U.S. senators and house members on ten key votes.[72] It tabulated voting records of congressmen from a rightist point of view.[73] Each legislator would receive a score from 0 percent to 100 percent depending on how he or she voted on issues according to Liberty Lobby's agenda.[74] Voting records were compiled at the end of each first session of every Congress. In March 1959, Liberty

Lobby recognized its first legislative victory—a defeat of a Senate bill drawn up by Republican Senator Jacob Javits of New York that would have barred from the mails certain groups deemed subversive by the Supreme Court.[75]

When lobbying Congress, the organization's spokesmen usually would put a moderate public face on Liberty Lobby's ideology. To the general public and the more noncommittal subscriber of *Liberty Letter*, the organization appeared to be essentially conservative in orientation, albeit with a notably militant slant. On occasion, representatives of Liberty Lobby testified before congressional committees. For example, Curtis Dall occasionally spoke before the House Foreign Affairs Committee against foreign aid legislation.[76] Other frequent Lobby spokesmen on Capitol Hill included W. B. Hicks, the official representative, and Michael D. Jaffe, the general counsel for the organization.[77] During the 1960s and early 1970s, representatives of Liberty Lobby testified before Congress on average about 12–15 times per year. The main issues about which it was concerned included federal firearms legislation, welfare programs, East-West trade, arms control, foreign aid, the United Nations, military draft, debt ceilings, illegal narcotics, sanctions against Rhodesia, U.S.-China relations, and the future of the Atlantic Union.[78]

Given the salience of race in Liberty Lobby's worldview, it is not surprising that its representatives frequently appeared before Congress to testify against civil rights legislation.[79] They often grounded their opposition on constitutional principles and racial themes. To be expected, Liberty Lobby opposed the nomination of Thurgood Marshall to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962.[80] The historic 1963 March on Washington was characterized as a blatant attempt to intimidate the U.S. Congress into passing civil rights legislation. As a countermove, Liberty Lobby announced its plan to mount a large-scale educational effort directed at the U.S. Congress to resist such pressure.[81] Liberty Lobby accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of exploiting the tragic death of John F. Kennedy to push civil rights legislation through Congress.[82] After the bill was resoundingly passed by the U.S. House of Representatives, Liberty Lobby excoriated House members, especially those from the South, who supported the legislation.[83]

In the area of monetary policy, Liberty Lobby voiced opposition to removing the gold cover from the U.S. dollar. W. B. Hicks, the Lobby's executive secretary, testified before the Banking and Currency Committees of both the House and Senate. He warned that, by abandoning the gold cover, the gold in storage would be made available to foreigners. The depletion of this supply would undermine the strategic and military needs of the United States. Hicks recommended that a strategic gold reserve separate from the monetary gold reserve be established in order to ensure that America's strategic and military needs could always be met.[84] The Lobby's predictions later proved to be prescient: in March 1973, amid a continuing depletion of reserves in Fort Knox, President Richard Nixon removed the U.S. dollar from the gold standard.[85]

Liberty Lobby had moderate success in courting conservative members of Congress from both Republican and Democratic Parties. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen (R-IL) and thirty-nine other senators were applauded for introducing Senate Joint Resolution 148, which sought to clarify the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution so that it would allow prayer in public schools.[86] On occasion, Carto won praise from lawmakers, a significant number of whom were so-called boll weevil Democrats (conservative Southern Democrats) that opposed civil rights legislation. For example, James Eastland (D-MS), chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee, once remarked that "Carto [was] a great patriot doing a great service to all Americans." Some Republicans were receptive as well. For example, Representative Bill Dickinson (R-AL), who was once the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, endorsed Liberty Lobby.[87] Two U.S. Senators—Karl Mundt (SD-R) and Strom Thurmond (SC-D)—wrote articles for *Liberty Letter* in which they explained their support for the Burleson-Curtis Resolution—a bill that required on-site inspections in which members of both the Senate and the House of Representatives would participate before any arms control or disarmament treaty could be ratified.[88] Representative Craig Hosmer (R-CA) wrote an article for *Liberty Letter* against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, warning that it would threaten national security.[89] On that note, representatives of Liberty Lobby testified before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.[90]

In August 1963, Liberty Lobby leaders participated in a "School of Politics," which was attended by several conservative members of Congress, including Representatives E. Y. Berry (R-SD), Albert Watson (D-SC), and William E. Brock (R-TN). At that event, Liberty Lobby presented its "Statesman of the Republic Citation" to Representative John Dowdy (D-TX) and James B. Utt (R-CA). The conference was sponsored by the Government Educational Foundation, and its principal purpose was to educate activists on how to apply pressure-group techniques on behalf of the conservative cause.[91] On January 31, 1963, the Government Education Foundation was incorporated by three Liberty Lobby employees, ostensibly to conduct educational and research work.[92]

On rare occasions, Liberty Lobby would issue an *Emergency Liberty Letter* for very urgent issues. This would be followed up by an emergency campaign to inform voters of the issue through newspaper advertisements, radio announcements, and other means. Examples, of such emergencies included the proposed Consular Treaty first undertaken in 1964 and then renewed in 1967.[93]

Personal Life and Marriage

After just a few short years, Carto had established a solid foundation for Liberty Lobby, and for a while it appeared that he would be a force with which to be reckoned in the conservative movement. During this period, an important milestone came in his personal life as well. While attending a *National Review* function in New York City in the late 1950s, he met his wife, Elisabeth Waltraud Oldemeier, a native of Germany. The two were married in 1960.[94] Born on September 25, 1937, in a small town in Germany, Elizabeth recalls vividly hiding in the basement of her house when British planes bombed the country during World War II.[95] The Cartos have no children and for many years resided in Escondido, California. Over the years, Carto shuttled back and forth between his home in California and the Liberty Lobby office in Washington, D.C. In 2001, he left his residence in California and moved permanently to the Washington, D.C., area. By all appearances, Elisabeth has been intensely loyal to her husband during his long and contentious career.

On a tragic note, Carto lost a trusted associate with the death of W. B. Hicks. By all appearances, Hicks had remained loyal to Carto for years. In early 1969, however, he requested a leave of absence so that he could write a book. Reluctantly, Carto agreed, and on February 8 Hicks and his father-in-law set out to sail on Hicks' schooner, *Dreamer*, following the Potomac down to the Intercoastal Waterway to Fort Lauderdale, where Hicks planned to meet his wife and young son. However, on February 9, while still on the Potomac, *Dreamer* capsized in a windstorm and both men were lost. According to one anonymous source, who was an associate of both Hicks and Carto, Hicks did not plan to return to Carto after the cruise, as he had become increasingly disillusioned with Carto for interjecting his philosophy into Liberty Lobby.[96]

From the outside, it appeared that Carto's opinions had become more moderate. However, he still drew inspiration from the fringes of the extreme right. One person in particular, an enigmatic figure known as Francis Parker Yockey, would have a lasting influence on him.

7

Francis Parker Yockey and *Imperium*

The effort to resurrect National Socialism began soon after the Axis defeat in 1945. Several Americans made notable contributions to this endeavor. The first of these was Francis Parker Yockey, who developed a loose international network of neofascists from around the world, including North America, South America, Europe, and even the Middle East. He is best known for his turgid 626-page tome *Imperium*, which advanced the notion of a unified Western civilization extending from Ireland to the Ural Mountains. In particular, Yockey saw German National Socialism as a project to renew the vitality of the West. His life's mission was to refashion the Nazi ideology to fit postwar conditions.

A major event in Carto's life occurred in 1960, when he visited Yockey in a San Francisco jail cell. Yockey, who was being held for passport violations, was suspected by the State Department and FBI of involvement in espionage against the United States.[1] His bail was set at $50,000—a seemingly high figure for passport fraud.[2] At the time, Carto lived in an apartment in San Francisco. Upon reading of Yockey's arrest, he immediately visited the enigmatic figure in jail. After receiving permission from Yockey's attorney, Carto was granted an interview, which lasted from 2:30 to 2:45 P.M on June 10, 1960.[3]

Sometime during the night of June 16, 1960, Yockey committed suicide by swallowing a cyanide pill. According to legend, apart from his lawyer, Carto was the last man to see Yockey alive. The story later took an odd twist. Shortly after the case, the U.S. attorney responsible for prosecuting Yockey inexplicably resigned, left his wife and children, and joined a monastery.[4]

Yockey left quite an impression on Carto; as he once remarked, "I knew that I was in the presence of a great force," and "I could feel history standing aside me."[5] The July 1960 issue of *Right* contained a cover story on Yockey that announced to its readers: "Frustrated and driven to despair, hounded and persecuted like a wild beast, deserted and ignored by the nasty-living cowards for whom he fought so hard—a great creative genius committed suicide in the San Francisco County Jail on Thursday night, June 16." The article contained a short hagiographic sketch of Yockey, depicting him as a man who dedicated his life to the renaissance of European peoples. By doing so, he incurred the wrath of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which, according to *Right*, launched a "systematic, world-wide persecution" of him. Interestingly, Yockey had been arrested at the house of a Jew, Alexander Scharf, who was supposedly both a rabbi and a survivor of Auschwitz. *Right* alleged that during his imprisonment, Yockey faced a regimen of mental and physical abuse by the authorities, which possibly included a frontal lobotomy. *Right* surmised that, rather than face such humiliation, Yockey chose a heroic martyrdom, in which his suicide would attract attention to his cause and stimulate interest in his book *Imperium*, thereby enlightening the torpid masses. As such, Yockey's tragic death was "a rebuke to our own cowardice and guilt," and his self-sacrifice would give birth to "a brighter fire."[6]

Over the years, rumors have persisted that Carto provided Yockey with the cyanide pill that he used to commit suicide.[7] According to a Yockey associate, H. Keith Thompson, Yockey took his own life rather than face the prospect of torture, which would have been inflicted in order to extract information about the activities of the European Liberation Front, an organization that putatively connected Moscow with European far rightists.[8]

The Early Life of Francis Parker Yockey

Francis Parker Yockey was born in Michigan in 1917 into a Catholic family. He grew up in Chicago, Illinois, where he graduated from high school with honors. Soon afterward, he attended five colleges, including the University of Michigan and Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he received a B.A. degree in 1938.[9] Later, he attended the University of Arizona and the laws schools of Northwestern, DePaul, and finally Notre Dame, where he graduated cum laude with a law degree in 1941.[10] A cultured man, Yockey was a concert-level pianist and had an abiding interest in philosophy. In the years leading up to World War II, Yockey expressed disdain for Roosevelt's efforts to involve the United States in the European conflict. In 1938, he contributed an article titled "The Tragedy of Youth" to the journal *Social Justice*, which was published by Father Charles Coughlin. In it, Yockey lamented that an "alien" control of the media resulted in the spiritual enslavement of American youth. He warned that youths were being conditioned by "Red" propaganda to fight a war against fascism on behalf of international Communism.[11]

In the early 1940s, Yockey served a brief stint in the U.S. Army, during which he went AWOL for two months. Soon after, he voluntarily returned to the Army at Camp Gordon in Georgia, and was discharged, probably for mental health reasons. There is speculation that Yockey was a Nazi spy and was on a mission that took him to Mexico during the time in which he was AWOL.[12] Upon returning to civilian life, he served as the assistant prosecuting attorney for Wayne County (Detroit), Michigan.[13] Ironically, in 1946 he took a position with the Allied war crimes tribunal in Wiesbaden, Germany, where "second string" Nazis were tried. Sympathizing with the defeated Germans, Yockey supposedly once had an angry confrontation with the U.S. lead prosecutor, Justice Robert Jackson, and eventually resigned, after which he made his way back to America. Feeling restless, he left the United States after another five months and returned to Europe, settling at a quiet inn at Brittas Bay, Ireland, where he wrote *Imperium* in 1947.

Imperium

Yockey envisaged a revitalized Western civilization that would encompass a Europe extending from deep in Russia to a white, racially conscious United States. Consistent with this theme, Yockey wrote the book under the pseudonym "Ulick Varange"—an Irish first name and a Russian surname. As Carto explained in his introduction to the book, Ulick is an Irish name that means "reward of the mind." Varange refers to the Varangians, a roving band of Norsemen who came to civilize Russian in the ninth century.[14] The implication was that the Imperium Yockey envisaged would extend from Ireland to the vast expanses of Russia. To Yockey, race was more of a collective cultural character of a society than a strict biological category.[15] In that sense, his conception of race was more subjective than objective. Perhaps this outlook might have had something to do with his own ethnic background. One of his contemporaries, James Madole, claimed that Yockey was one-quarter Jewish.[16] Many years later, Yockey's voluntaristic attitude toward race proved to be of great inspiration to a biracial right-wing terrorist, Leo Felton.[17]

The philosophy of Oswald Spengler informed much of Yockey's thesis in *Imperium*, in that both believed that civilizations were similar to living organisms that followed their own lifecycles. In Yockey's worldview, Jews were the primary culprits in the decline of Western civilization. Not unlike previous anti-Semitic narratives, he submitted that Jews excelled mainly in parasitism and were incapable of creating a civilization on their own. He characterized them as "culture distorters" and the "Church-State-Nation-People-Race of the Jew."

Given his anti-Semitism, it is not surprising that Yockey was an admirer of the German National Socialist regime, interpreting it as a serious attempt to bring about an "Imperium." In fact, he dedicated the book to "the hero of the Second World War" (i.e., Adolf Hitler) and waxed eloquently on "the European Revolution of 1933" (Hitler assumed the chancellorship of Germany on January 30, 1933). Yockey envisaged a new Imperium that would be modeled on the tenets of Hitler's National Socialism, an ideology that christened an "Age of Authority" in which democracy would wither away and power would be held publicly through a strong leader. In the economic realm, businesses would be publicly owned in a fashion not unlike the corporatist ideal, as it is extolled by fascism.[18]

An element of anti-Americanism inhered in Yockey's worldview. As he described it, America had become the main source of cultural decadence in the West. Since the demise of the Federalists, America had lacked an aristocratic class that might articulate a national mission. Furthermore, large and continuous waves of immigration had the cumulative effect of diminishing American national solidarity and identity. Yockey saw America as a cultural wasteland, which made the country easy prey for "culture distorters."[19] Moreover, the United States, through its crusade against fascism during World War II, had come to embody the countercrusade against "the resurgence of Authority."[20] By doing so, Yockey reasoned, America had become a principal enemy of the European peoples.

The Enemy of Europe

Yockey expounded on some of the themes advanced in *Imperium* in a 1948 tract titled *The Enemy of Europe*, in which he lamented that his beloved European continent lay prostrate before the two superpowers. Hitler's Third Reich was heralded as the "European Imperium," which defended the West against both Bolshevism on the one hand and a Jewish-directed United States on the other. He castigated the American high command for policies that impoverished the postwar population in Europe, while it took a generally magnanimous position toward defeated Japan. Yockey warned that *der Deutsche Michel*—a German expression denoting a gullible and easily malleable German—represented a serous threat insofar as he would serve the interests of the American occupiers against the interests of his fellow countrymen.[21] His pessimism notwithstanding, Yockey held out hope that the Russian barbarian would one day be integrated into the West and thereby extend the Imperium to the Ural Mountains. In an effort to accomplish this goal, he occasionally dabbled in political activism. Thus, in 1949, he founded the European Liberation Front, which released a manifesto, *The Proclamation of London*, that same year.

The Proclamation of London

In the late 1940s, Yockey associated with the British fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley and became a member of his Union Movement, which advocated a united Europe "imbued with a sense of high mission, not a market state of jealous battling interests."[22] For a while, Yockey was even a paid agent of Mosley's, but the latter eventually expelled the former because he was seen as a disruptive influence within the organization. In retaliation, Yockey accused Mosley of being an American agent and a tool of Winston Churchill, which were serious charges in the far right.[23]

Under the aegis of the European Liberation Front, Yockey released *The Proclamation of London* in 1949, a manifesto in which he explicitly identified the enemies of Europe. The tract was styled as an exhortation for the European-derived peoples around the world to unite behind a pan-European Imperium. To Yockey, Western civilization was a spiritual unit. Christianity had brought a single ethical code to the West. Even with the rise of nation states in Europe, the independent states still belonged to a common cultural paradigm. Although nationalism had a somewhat disunifying effect, the nations nevertheless retained a sense of common civilization. That began to change, however, when the French Revolution ushered in an Age of Materialism and allowed for the introduction of "extra-European forces" into the European body politic. Increasingly, Europe was plagued by class war, which diminished the corporate cohesiveness of the nations. Exacerbating this trend, Karl Marx instilled a sense of grievance in the European working class. This diminution of communal solidarity, Yockey reasoned, enabled Jews to assert an ever greater role in European society, politics, and commerce. According to Yockey, Jews had taken over America in all but name by 1933, the year Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president. Jews, Yockey claimed, promoted a process of cultural distortion, in which they molded European society to serve their own particularistic group interests. Most notably through the media, Jews were able to exert a determinant influence on public opinion and, by doing so, to control the policies of the democratic systems in Europe and the United States. A tripartite alliance based in Washington, Moscow, and Tel Aviv was arrayed against Europe. To save Europe from this malaise, Yockey urged Europeans to find their destiny, which he believed was a pan-European authoritarianism with elements of corporate socialism. Only through unity, could the Europeans throw off the foreign yoke.[24]

One significant project on which Yockey expended considerable effort was to forge rapprochement with the Eastern bloc. Not long after organizing the European Liberation Front, Yockey obtained a position with the Red Cross in Europe, but resigned in 1951 and traveled throughout the continent. However, in 1952, the U.S. State Department refused to renew his passport. The U.S. government grew suspicious of his activities and the FBI received orders to keep him under surveillance.[25]

Sympathy for the Soviets

In contrast to the deracination of America, Yockey saw noble attributes in Russia and believed that the latter could be incorporated in the coming Imperium. After the war, he became increasingly sympathetic to the Soviet bloc. In an essay titled "What is Behind the Hanging of the Eleven Jews in Prague?" which Yockey issued as a "press release" in December 1952, he analyzed a trial in which Jews in the Czechoslovak government were accused of treason. To Yockey, this marked a symbolic turning point in the orientation of the East bloc, as he enthusiastically exclaimed: "the Prague trials will act as a historical cathartic to flush out the historical waste-matter of churchills and their liberal-democratic-communist dirt." In Yockey's analysis, the Prague trials constituted an open declaration of war by Stalin on Jewish-American leadership. What is more, he pointed out that the nascent state of Israel had begun withdrawing its ambassadors from several East bloc countries, thus suggesting friction between the two parties.

In fact, Yockey argued that Stalin was "following in the footsteps of Hitler" insofar as he had begun purging high-ranking Jewish Bolsheviks from the ranks of the Soviet government. He claimed that during World War II, Jewish-American influence was responsible for propping up the Soviet Union so that it could withstand the Nazi onslaught. Moreover, this same element prevented Stalin and "his pan-Slav nationalistic-religious entourage from concluding peace with Europe-Germany." America, in Yockey's scheme, had become the citadel of Jewish power in the world, and endeavored to encircle the increasingly nationalist Soviet Union with a coalition of hostile allies. Therefore, it followed that the United States, under the direction of world Jewry, was the principal enemy of Europe. With Stalin and the East bloc increasingly turning against the United States (and Jews), Yockey believed that Europe would be able to play the two superpowers off against each other, thereby liberating the continent from the baleful influences of both. Inasmuch as the Soviet Union was taking an anti-Jewish stand, Yockey believed that it would perforce ally itself with the Islamic world, thus weakening American global hegemony.[26] His anti-Americanism notwithstanding, Yockey hoped to include the United States in his Imperium as well.

"The Destiny of America"

Yockey believed that America must find its own destiny. Toward this end, in January 1955 he released an essay titled "The Destiny of America," in which he rhapsodized over the frontiersman in American history, whom he saw as the principal agent that developed the North American continent. Regrettably, he believed that "the tragic defeat of the Federalists" put America on a profoundly destructive course. Consequently, America took on an increasingly imperialistic posture and came under the influence of the Jews, who subverted the country to serve their own interests. The Industrial Revolution allowed Jews to rise to preeminence, and thus America became a "money civilization." Workers became virtual wage slaves. Jewish leaders worked to remove all social barriers, allowing people of all ethnicities and races to participate fully in American society, albeit under their domination. However, according to Yockey, this arrangement also carried pitfalls for Jews insofar as greater assimilation militated against their own ethnic cohesion. To stave off such a prospect, Yockey argued, Jewish leaders promoted the incipient ideology of Zionism as a way to foster Jewish identity and solidarity. He even asserted that Jews composed 10 percent of the population of the North American continent and imputed a tremendous amount of influence to them: "it is a stark and gruesome fact that *America today is ruled by the Jew"* (emphasis in original). Yockey argued that Jews controlled the media and other opinion-making institutions in the United States. He marked the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 as the point at which Jews realized their takeover of American politics. Henceforth, "America was given semitic countenance."[27] As time went by, Yockey became increasingly pessimistic about the future of the United States.

"World in Flames"

Shortly before his arrest and subsequent suicide, Yockey wrote another essay, titled "World in Flames," in which he lamented the spiritual decline of the United States and predicted the country was about to lose its preeminent stature in the world. As he explained, the world system that Jewish-American power had created was in the process of unraveling. More and more, the countries of the Third World in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East were turning against the United States. To make matters worse, inasmuch as America had spiritually weakened Europe, it could not count on European allies to contribute effectively in a future conflict with Soviet Russia. These trends were leading to a showdown—a third world war—in which the United States, with its plethora of urban areas, would be extremely vulnerable to Soviet ICBMs. By contrast, the largely rural Soviet Union could emerge from a nuclear exchange with far less damage to its infrastructure and population. However, as Yockey explained, the effectiveness of Soviet delivery systems was uncertain. Therefore, for a conflict of apocalyptic proportions, the Soviet Union was largely dependent on "German brains" to provide the technical expertise to develop an effective arsenal to be used against the American adversary. Yockey predicted, as a result, that the United States would seek to destroy Germany and its population. Russia, due to its less developed history, still retained a barbarian ethos that would serve it well in a conflict with the United States.

According to Yockey, however, a certain contradiction inhered in Zionism, which made it unsustainable in the long run. He believed that Zionists were of two minds, which were fundamentally at cross-purposes. As Zionists, they were purportedly committed to the destruction of Western civilization. As such, they sympathized with the Soviet Union, Communist China, Japan, and the Arab world, and they particularly despised Germany, which Yockey believed represented the heart and mind of the West. On the other hand, as "custodians of the United States," the Zionists must maintain the technical and political domination of that country, while at the same time, destroying its "soul and meaning." As a result, the Zionists were "working simultaneously for and against Western civilization." Yockey feared that the curtain was closing on Western civilization.[28]

Carto on Yockey

For years, Yockey's book languished and was distributed primarily to only a small number of the National Socialist faithful in Europe. Eventually, though, Carto published it through his Noontide Press, and by doing so, popularized it with an American audience.[29] According to one observer, Carto has acted as a "man-to-man evangelist" promoting the gospel of Yockey to influential acquaintances.[30] The first edition of the book appeared in two volumes, both of which were published in 1948 by Westropa Press. Volume I was also printed by C. A. Brooks & Co., Ltd., and Volume II by Jones & Dale, in London. Neither was widely distributed.[31] Later, Carto picked up the rights to *Imperium*, and in November 1962 he persuaded Truth Seeker Press (an obscure right-wing magazine) to publish another edition.[32] Noontide Press, of which Willis Carto was the proprietor, published subsequent editions.[33] Surprisingly, *Imperium* was not listed for sale by Liberty Lobby until May 1969.[34] The next issue of *Liberty Letter* explained that it had decided to offer the book for sale because of the principle of freedom of speech. Furthermore, Liberty Lobby announced that it did not necessarily endorse the book.[35] It is estimated that *Imperium* has now sold well over twenty thousand copies in the United States, making it an underground bestseller.[36] Carto explained to me his reasons for promoting *Imperium*:

> I thought it would be a shame if this American philosopher and historian, if he just died without anyone paying attention to him. I felt that new ideas were desperately, desperately, desperately needed in the right. Rather than just the same old stuff that you heard over and over and over again—flag waving and Constitution, so on and so forth—Yockey had a very well thought out, a very radical, and a very, very, very different approach to things . . . . He was for nationalism, American nationalism. [He was] against the United States being controlled surreptitiously by the super rich oligarchy and pressure groups. So he was certainly marching in the same direction that I was.[37]

Carto added a 35-page introduction to Yockey's *Imperium* in which he articulated his thoughts on the book. Rejecting the pessimism of both Spengler and Yockey, Carto believed it was possible for the West to avoid its death. He credited Spengler with conceptualizing the West as an organism and Yockey with identifying the putative source of the pathology that afflicted it. Furthermore, Carto was sanguine insofar as he believed that the West now possessed the "technics," or science and technology, to apply to the problem.[38] Although the "collective soul" of the civilization may sicken, Carto believed that it could always experience regeneration, provided the organism of which it was a part remained alive.[39] Unlike Yockey, Carto conceived of the West in racial terms, and not by Christendom, culture, or civilization.[40] Furthermore, Carto disagreed with Yockey's conception of race as a matter of culture and soul. Carto took a more biological view of the concept of race. Finally, Carto rejected the universalistic aspect of Western civilization, as he saw its byproduct as decay that could threaten to kill the organism. On that note, he decried imperialism insofar as it led to the "digestion of alien matter."[41]

In Yockey, Carto saw the rarest combination, that is, the philosopher and the man of action. In his introduction to *Imperium*, Carto recalled his encounter with the enigmatic Yockey:

> And as I peered through the thick screens in the San Francisco Jail, and made out the indefinite shape on the other side, that tenth day of June 1960, I knew that I would have to help the prisoner as best I could. I could do nothing else.
>
> I have read your book, I said to the shadow, and I want to help you. What can I do?
>
> Wait he said. Wait, and do as your conscience tells you.
>
> The following week was full of news of Yockey's appearance before Rabbi Joseph Karesh, the U.S. Commissioner.
>
> Twice I attended the hearings, and each time was fascinated by this man, Yockey. In stature he was about five feet, ten inches. He was light of weight, perhaps 145 pounds, and quick on his feet. His hair was dark, and starting to grey. The expression on his face—pensive, sensitive,

> magnetic—this was the unforgettable thing. It was his eyes, I think. Dark, with a quick and knowing intelligence. His eyes bespoke great secrets and knowledge and such terrible sadness. As he turned to leave, one time, those eyes quickly searched the room, darting from face to face with a sort of desperation, though the expression on his face of a determined resignation never wavered. What was he looking for? In that lions' den, what else but a friendly countenance? As his gaze swept across, and then to me, he stopped and for the space of a fractional second, spoke to me with his eyes. In that instant we understood that I would not desert him.[42]

Carto found in Yockey's writings the gospel of a new faith that called for a spiritual regeneration of the West. According to Carto, the crux of the problem of the West was that its people lacked a unifying faith and had lost their will to survive. Only a new dynamic *weltanschauung* could save the West, a faith that would jettison unnecessary baggage in order to ensure the survival of the civilization. As Carto warned, the conspiracy the West faced came from an enemy that had "four millenniums of experience in guile and deception"—a somewhat Delphic allusion to Jews.[43] Like Yockey, Carto believed that what made Western man unique was his "Faustian Soul"—a predilection to explore and examine the world in which he lived. Carto offered his thoughts on the relevance of Yockey's philosophy today:

> I was instrumental in publishing his work, *Imperium*, which is quite a book. And anybody who has read it, whether he agrees with it or not, cannot read the book one time and understand it. It has to be studied. It has some very interesting historical and philosophical ideas. . . .
>
> Do I think his philosophy is still relevant today? Well, that's a hard one, but I'd say probably not because of the disintegration of the West. He foresaw a struggle between the West and the Soviet Union. He saw it in Spenglerian terms. I just don't think that things in the interim—the last 40 years [or so]—developed in the way that he foresaw . . . . I wouldn't say that he was sympathetic toward Communism. Anybody who reads his book can see that that's preposterous. But he was sympathetic toward the Russian people. Yockey was a nationalist. He believed in nationalism, as I do. Nationalism is an indispensable philosophy for any group of people. Yockey, you might say in current terms, was not a multiculturalist. He knew that multiculturalism could only bring the downfall of all cultures. He knew that multiculturalism would simply reduce all of mankind down to the level of the lowest. I can't say that I agree with all of his thinking, and this was made clear in my introduction. But he was not pro-Communist in any way shape or form.[44]

Carto's worldview synthesizes numerous conspiracy theories and seemingly contradictory philosophies. For example, over the years Liberty Lobby's publications, such as the *Spotlight*, contain articles with anti-statist themes that are highly critical of big government programs (for example,, Hillary Clinton's proposed national health care plan). This would seem to be at odds with the organic socialism idealized by Yockey and other National Socialists. Carto, though, sees no such contradiction.

> Yes, I can see how these would be an apparent contradiction to people who don't understand what Yockey was talking about. He was talking about an ethical socialism, which really is not Marxism in any way. But as far as the United States of America, Yockey saw, and I see, that the American nation has to work out its own destiny within the traditions of American history. And that means representative government and it means the Constitution and it means individual liberty. We've always espoused that. At no time have I said that the United States would have to go to some dictatorship . . . .
>
> I see no conflict at all with Yockey's international philosophy, you might say, and historical Spenglerian foundation. But that's certainly does not affect Liberty Lobby's beliefs that since the very beginning the public has to regenerate America and has to put pressure on these guys over here two blocks away to make them do right. [Liberty Lobby was located in downtown Washington, D.C.][45]

Carto has sought to soft-pedal the anti-Americanism of Yockey and has played down his Soviet connections.[46] It is somewhat odd that Carto, who presents himself as an ultra-American patriot, would be so enamored of Yockey, who evinced an intense anti-Americanism. During the middle of the Cold War, *Right* exclaimed that Jewish control in Russia had been broken and that anti-Communism had suddenly gained respectability among the elite classes because the Soviet government had turned against the Jews. Therefore, *Right* insisted, Jewish anti-Communists should be treated with the utmost suspicion. Moreover, in retrospect, Carto believes that Yockey was prescient with respect to bringing Russia into the West:

> It was a communist overlay mostly of Jews that indisputably controlled the Soviet Union. No one can deny that without lying about it. They disguised themselves as communists. And actually it was a Jewish thing

> from start to finish. Part of the success in communism lay in disguising the fact that the top people were Jewish. And the Jews themselves admit it. So I don't think that Yockey was far off. He was friendly toward the Russian people. But he saw this overlay of communist subversives at the top. And that's what he wanted to destroy.[47]

As Yockey's biographer, Kevin Coogan, has noted, if not for Carto, it is probable that both Yockey and *Imperium* would be forgotten.[48] Through his various projects, Carto effectively marketed *Imperium* to an American audience. However, by Americanizing Yockey's message, he transformed it into something that differed markedly from the original creed. Although *Imperium* is one of the most widely distributed books in the far right, it is also one of the least understood, and it has thus added to the legend of Yockey. As Laird Wilcox and John George observed, the book's cryptic message has contributed to its lasting reputation: "Much of the book's enduring reputation lies in its incomprehensibility . . . . In the tiny community of neo-Nazism, *Imperium* is the 'bible' few people have thoroughly read and almost nobody understands."[49]

Over the years, Carto has remained faithful to Yockey's creed. Using the verbiage of Yockey, Carto accused Jews in the media of "culture distortion." Through this alleged media control, Jews confused the white masses, thereby inverting their morality so that they sympathized with non-whites and convinced the former of the "rightness of the suicide of the White race." Jews were accused of waging a "permanent revolution" against the underpinnings of Western civilization. During testimony in a civil proceeding against the ADL in 1979, Carto admitted under oath that he remained faithful to the philosophy of Yockey.[50]

In a sense, Yockeyism has provided an esoteric aspect to Carto's worldview, adapting ideas that were otherwise presented only to the initiated through *Imperium* and other related publications by Yockey. To the broad readership of *Liberty Letter*, Carto has more generally presented the exoteric image of traditional American patriotism and conservatism, which remained popular rightist themes throughout the tumultuous decade of the 1960s.

8

The Turbulent Decade

During the turbulent decade of the 1960s, Liberty Lobby continued to expand. In a politically liberal era, Liberty Lobby positioned itself as the spearhead of the conservative backlash. Several issues preoccupied Liberty Lobby, most notably, the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, the burgeoning civil rights movement, and the Vietnam War.

The Goldwater Campaign and Opposition to LBJ

Liberty Lobby was in the forefront of opposition to the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson. His Great Society and War on Poverty came under sharp criticism, as these programs supposedly amounted to a looting of the U.S. Treasury so that the federal government could mete out graft to corrupt politicians and officials.[1] In October 1966, Curtis B. Dall published an open letter to President Johnson, in which he requested that the president grant an interview to a delegation of five persons selected by subscribers to *Liberty Letter*. Johnson was depicted as a politician who was excessively beholden to special interests. With respect to civil rights, the president was accused of kowtowing to minority interest groups, including the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).[2] Liberty Lobby vehemently opposed the Johnson administration's efforts to revise the McCarran Walter Act, which restricted immigration into the United States. *Liberty Letter* argued that, if the law were rescinded, "the floodgates would be open to permanently destroy America and our Republic."[3] It was argued that Johnson's immigration bill would be disastrous for America, resulting in increased unemployment and welfare rolls.[4]

The 1964 presidential campaign of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater energized the nascent conservative backlash. By early 1964, *Liberty Letter* began carrying articles that supported Goldwater's campaign. A booklet written by Joseph P. Kamp called *Goldwater MUST be Destroyed* was promoted, which claimed that a liberal conspiracy sought to discredit the Arizona Senator. An editorial by William H. Hunter compared Goldwater to Thomas Jefferson and commended both for their support of states' rights, sound fiscal policy, and support for the U.S. Constitution.[5] In 1964, *Liberty Lowdown* contained an article titled "Barry Goldwater: Man on the White Horse?" which listed his perceived shortcomings on racialist issues, including his racial integration of the Arizona Air National Guard and a donation to the NAACP. Nevertheless, the article supported his presidential candidacy in that he promised to move the GOP away from "the mongrel, left-wing international banking interests in New York."[6]

In an impressive display of activism, Liberty Lobby distributed fourteen million copies of a flyer called "LBJ: A Political Biography," by W. B. Hicks. Tracing Johnson's background to his humble origins in Texas, the short biography depicted the president as a ruthlessly ambitious man who was mostly concerned about his own self-aggrandizement, rather than principles, as evidenced by the alleged scandals and skullduggery that characterized his political career.[7] The success of its distribution greatly benefited Liberty Lobby's coffers. Owing to the resultant publicity, the organization's income jumped six-fold, to $346,000, in 1964, of which $280,000 came from the sales of the publication.[8]

At first, Liberty Lobby championed the Goldwater candidacy and heralded his victory at the 1964 GOP convention in San Francisco as the "Cow Palace Revolution." The nomination was viewed as a victory over the liberal Rockefeller wing of the Republican Party. Goldwater's success was imputed to grass roots activists who worked tirelessly to organize at the precinct level. Enthusiastically, Liberty Lobby proclaimed that Goldwater's nomination presaged a new conservative tide in American politics. Although Goldwater would go on to lose in a landslide against the incumbent President Johnson, his candidacy was seen as a great achievement, whereby conservatives demonstrated that they could be effectively organized and mobilized despite "all of the smears, tricks and deception that the Enemy could muster." To demonstrate the association between Johnson and the left, *Liberty Letter* pointed out that the *Communist Worker* exulted that it had influenced the 1964 presidential election far beyond its membership numbers, and in doing so, helped defeat Barry Goldwater.[9]

Goldwater's defeat was attributed in part to a high turnout among minority voters and the fact that many white voters "were confused" and failed to vote. Of the twenty-seven million nonminority voters that chose Johnson, many were said to be "communists, brainwashed liberals and intellectuals," in addition to millions of others who were simply "bought off by government money." *Liberty Letter* suggested that Goldwater should have run a more aggressive campaign and reached out to members of the working class. Governor George Wallace was described as an exemplar of that particular approach.[10]

A principal objective of Liberty Lobby during the 1960s was to keep the Republican Party firmly in the hands of the pro-Goldwater faction that had dominated the 1964 presidential convention in San Francisco. Liberty Lobby sought to take credit for this transformation of the GOP.[11] Spurred in large part by the Goldwater campaign, *Liberty Letter* experienced a steady growth in circulation throughout the 1960s. In 1963, circulation averaged 16,000. But by 1965, readership was listed as 95,591. In October 1968, the newsletter announced that it had more than 200,000 subscribers.[12]

In March 1965, Liberty Lobby released a brochure titled, "Looking Forward," which analyzed the results of the 1964 election. Despite the electoral failure, the tone of "Looking Forward" was upbeat, as it argued that the election heralded a new conservative activist approach to obtaining political power.[13] The tract also explained how the Republican Party could offset the Democratic Party's gains among blacks. Support for Goldwater from Liberty Lobby was somewhat lukewarm in that he never embraced racialism. Furthermore, Goldwater was criticized for his silence on the issue of Zionism. Liberty Lobby offered an alternative to racial integration, namely, a program of "responsible Negro nationalism" in the style of Marcus Garvey and other black separatists.[14] Inasmuch as Liberty Lobby staunchly defended segregation, the civil rights issue was at the top of its agenda.

The Civil Rights Movement

Not unlike other rightist organizations, Liberty Lobby often conflated the civil rights issue with anti-Communism. According to Liberty Lobby, the burgeoning civil rights movement of the 1960s was largely manipulated by Communists. It cited the rhetorical support that the movement received from Gus Hall, the chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. The expressive leader of the civil rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King, was accused of receiving support from over sixty Communist fronts.[15] After King's assassination in 1968, *Liberty Letter* suggested that he had "outlived his usefulness" and thus had to be killed. His assassination was depicted as a conspiracy to generate sympathy for the slain civil rights leader and support for civil rights legislation before the U.S. Congress. Furthermore, King's commitment to nonviolence was questioned, since "everywhere he went violence was sure to follow." Finally, his opposition to the war in Vietnam was viewed as sympathy for Communists, while his support for Israel was seen as a gesture to his Jewish masters.[16]

In 1962, Congress overwhelming passed a proposal for a Constitutional amendment that would ban poll taxes as a requirement for voting. After Reconstruction, many Southern states adopted this measure to discourage blacks from voting. For its part, Liberty Lobby defended the practice, arguing that "one fundamental difference between a democracy and a republic is that in the latter suffrage is restricted to persons who can meet reasonable standards. A person who is not willing to pay a small fee for the privilege of voting is hardly likely to add to the cumulative wisdom of the electorate." Such a voting requirement, it was argued, should be left to the individual states to decide.[17] Despite opposition, this measure was ultimately ratified as the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1964.

As Congress considered the Civil Rights Act of 1966, *Liberty Letter* warned that the proposed legislation would give U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach the power to establish a police state in the United States.[18] Moreover, the fair housing provisions of the law would ensure that every suburb in the country would share the urban blight of the "riot-torn cities."[19] The provision was characterized as a "forced housing" act that was foisted on the American public "by the threat of sheer physical terror aimed at Congress." A chief supporter of the legislation, Dr. Martin Luther King, had announced plans to hold a rally in support of the measure in Washington, D.C.[20]

After riots convulsed American cities in the "long hot summer" of 1967, Liberty Lobby described federal aid that was earmarked for urban renewal as a "riot-racket payoff."[21] The riots that ravaged Washington, D.C., in April 1968 in the wake of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination were blamed on the complacency of the local and federal governments to adequately respond to the crisis.[22] In later years, the *Spotlight* sought to whitewash the violence against civil rights activists by maintaining the innocence of Byron de la Beckwith, the convicted assassin of Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers.[23] Also, the Liberty Library (which handled book distribution for Liberty Lobby) sold a sympathetic biography of Beckwith.[24]

To advance the segregationist cause, Liberty Lobby promoted several books and pamphlets, including *Black Revolution is Red Revolution* and *Lawless Tyranny—An American Conspiracy Against We the People*, by Joseph P. Kamp.[25] Liberty Lobby sent to every member of the U.S. Congress a copy of the book *Open Occupancy vs. Forced Housing under the Fourteenth Amendment*, by Alfred Avins.[26] Occasionally, the civil rights issue was connected to national security in that it was argued that the former weakened the latter.

National Security and Foreign Affairs

Liberty Lobby took a keen interest in national security, which it argued was imperiled by insider traitors, including Communists, internationalists, and "Israel Firsters." Working with other organizations, Liberty Lobby sought to forge a coalition in favor of greater national security. Toward that end, the Americans for National Security was founded in 1963 and designed to serve as Liberty Lobby's contact point with the military. Its "Board of Endorsers" included thirteen retired officers, most notably, retired USMC Lieutenant General P. A. del Valle, who was an early supporter of Liberty Lobby and championed traditional rightist themes, including Constitutionalism, Christianity, patriotism, and opposition to the Federal Reserve System.[27] Another right-wing luminary affiliated with the Americans for National Security was Dr. Revilo P. Oliver.[28] In June 1966, a ceremony was held in Washington, D.C., at which the merger of Liberty Lobby and Americans for National Security was formally announced.[29]

On occasion, Liberty Lobby lent its support to the conservative activist, Phyllis Schlafly, who, along with retired Rear Admiral Chester Ward, authored a popular paperback in 1965 titled *Strike from Space*, which warned of possible Soviet missile attacks against the United States as it was bogged down in Vietnam.[30] For her part, Schlafly reciprocated by serving as the chief speaker for Liberty Lobby's annual dinner in 1965.[31] That same year, she spoke before a National Defense Seminar billed as "Project Survival," sponsored by Americans for National Security.[32]

In May 1964, Liberty Lobby, working together with two closely affiliated groups—Americans for National Security, and the Government Educational Foundation—staged a three-day event called "Project America" that was held at the Marriott Twin Bridges Motor Hotel in Arlington, Virginia. The event was billed as a three-part program, which included a seminar titled "Americans for National Security" that featured Senator Milward Simpson (R-WY), Representative Craig Hosmer (R-CA), retired General Bonner Fellers, Earl Voss, and Stanley M. Andrews, the executive director of Americans for National Security. Andrews, a fundamentalist preacher, once served as an aide to Ohio Senator Frank Lausche (D-OH) and frequently wrote editorials that appeared on the back page of *Liberty Letter*.[33]

By the late 1960s, the war in Vietnam was polarizing the population of the United States. The Lobby's position on Vietnam vacillated at times. From 1965 to 1966, the Lobby leaned cautiously toward nonintervention. However, by 1967 the Lobby was calling for a decisive American victory to the conflict.[34] Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara came under fire for his management of the war. The Lobby published a paperback titled *Robert Strange McNamara: The True Story of Dr. Strangebob*, which depicted the secretary as an inept manager who lacked the will to win in Vietnam. *Liberty Letter* decried McNamara and his coterie of "whiz kids" and their management of the Department of Defense and the Vietnam War.[35] He was described as having "occult religious views" and a "hypnotic influence" over President Johnson.[36] When McNamara resigned from his post in 1968, the Lobby congratulated itself, claiming that it had contributed to the pressure that prompted his decision.[37] Looking back in retrospect, Carto confided to me that he regretted supporting the war, explaining that he was taken in by the fervid anti-Communism of that period.[38]

Be that as it may, Communism remained a principal concern to Carto at that time. After the U.S.S. Pueblo was seized by the North Korean government in 1968, *Liberty Letter* suspected foul play involving Communist sympathizers in Washington. The ship was believed to have contained precious cargo, including secret radar and radio equipment, which made its seizure all the more damaging to U.S. national security. The U.S. government's decision to offer an apology to the North Korean government was described as a shakedown by the Communists against U.S. taxpayers.[39]

The Six-Day War in June 1967 presented an important opportunity for Liberty Lobby to refurbish its anti-Semitism with an anti-Zionist campaign. *Liberty Letter* castigated "dovish" members of Congress, who had withdrawn support from Vietnam, for suddenly metamorphosing into hawks when the nation of Israel was involved in a conflict.[40] In 1967, the *American Mercury* (a Carto organ) carried an article by Issah Nakleh, a native of Palestine, titled, "Is the Middle East Lost?" which contained numerous familiar instances of anti-Zionism, including the charge that Zionist intrigue was responsible for American intervention in World War I, a dispute to the claim that six million Jews had perished in the Holocaust, and the theory that Eastern European Jews were descendants of Khazars, rather than Middle Eastern Semites. This was followed by a pamphlet, "America First," which was released in 1971. In the style of a shrill tabloid, the pamphlet featured Israeli atrocity photos and pictures of Jewish and Israeli leaders together with prominent American politicians. The tract identified 1917—the year that the Balfour Declaration was issued—as a watershed moment, marking America's departure from its traditional foreign policy course of nonintervention. In essence, the declaration was an alleged deal by Zionist leaders and the British government to involve America in World War I on the side of Britain. "America First" blamed Jews for starting World War II, claiming that the World Jewish Federation declared an "economic holy war" against Germany in 1933. The tract advanced numerous arguments against U.S. support for Israel, including the possibility that the supply of oil from the Middle East could be cut off and the prospect of a major regional war in the Middle East in which the United States might become bogged down. In an attempt to wean Christian fundamentalists from their inclination to support Israel, "America First" invoked the Bible to argue that the modern nation of Israel did not represent the fulfillment of prophecy.[41] Despite whatever personal beliefs he had about Jews, the incoming president, Richard M. Nixon, accelerated U.S. support for Israel, and in doing so, drew the ire of Liberty Lobby.

The Nixon Administration

At first, Liberty Lobby adopted a wait-and-see position on President Richard M. Nixon.[42] In January 1969, *Liberty Letter* issued an open letter to the new president, in which it warned that several urgent issues threatened the survival of the nation, including international Communism, racial strife, and the state of the American economy.[43] It was not long, however, before the Lobby became highly critical of Nixon. In January 1969, Curtis B. Dall sent a letter to the new president in which he expressed his opposition to the nomination of Henry A. Kissinger to the position of advisor for National Security Affairs.[44] An article in *Liberty Letter* disapproved of a number of Nixon's appointments and the retention of certain officials from the previous administration, including George Ball, Nicholas Katzenbach, Jacob Beam, Harlan Cleveland, and John Paton Davies, among others.[45] Further, *Liberty Letter* mused that perhaps Nixon was a "stooge for Nelson Rockefeller and the Leftists all along."[46] Nixon's nomination of Jacob D. Beam to be the ambassador to the Soviet Union was described by Dall as "the worst ambassadorial appointment in American history."[47] His policy of *détente* toward the Soviet Union and China was met with suspicion as well.[48] Of course, the fact that Nixon expanded foreign and military aid to Israel also estranged him from Liberty Lobby.

Although the mainstream press often depicted Nixon as a conservative, Liberty Lobby came to view him as a genuine threat to patriots. Increasingly, Liberty Lobby took a critical position on Nixon's issuance of numerous executive orders to bring inflation under control, arguing that such measures amounted to a usurpation of citizens' rights. Consequently, in 1972, the Lobby issued a critical publication of Nixon called "Blueprint for Dictatorship."[49] To Carto, Nixon was a wolf in sheep's clothing, a leader who presented himself as a conservative but was actually committed to a globalist agenda. Consequently, he pinned his hopes on the candidacy of the staunch segregationist George Wallace.

9

Youth for Wallace

The George Wallace Campaign

The 1968 presidential candidacy of George Wallace attracted many elements of the radical right. Governor Wallace positioned himself as a populist, reaching out to working-class whites not only in the South, but in the North as well, especially those in areas that had been shaken by urban unrest. Unlike traditional conservatives, Wallace did not advocate a contraction of the public sector. Instead, he actually pushed for its expansion in order to improve the economic prosperity of white working people, a constituency with whom his populist message resonated. Although Barry Goldwater attracted a sizable number of conservatives, he was wary of addressing racial issues, which thus alienated some of the more extreme right-wing elements. By contrast, coming off a spate of urban riots that convulsed America in the late 1960s, Wallace put racial politics front and center of his campaign. In effect, he preached nationally what he had practiced at the state level in Alabama.[1] With his populist and racialist orientation, George Wallace understandably excited Carto. Wallace, though, was careful not to affiliate himself openly with certain segments of the extreme right. Although he harbored prejudice against blacks and is believed to have actually had two Klan leaders on his payroll—Asa Carter and Robert K. Shelton—Wallace knew that anti-Semitism could have a devastating effect on his credibility.[2] Therefore, he sought to distance himself from those rightists who were too closely associated with any anti-Jewish animus.

Both Liberty Lobby and the John Birch Society supported the candidacy of George Wallace. What is more, the Alabama governor's "party-within-a-party" concept appealed to the electoral strategy of Liberty Lobby, which favored supporting conservative candidates in the two major parties, rather than creating a third party.[3] As early as 1965, Liberty Lobby mused over the possibility of a Wallace presidential campaign. At first, Liberty Lobby maintained that it did not publicly endorse candidates, since it was first and foremost a lobbying entity.[4] But in 1968, Ross Barnett and Leander Perez organized a meeting of various right-wing leaders to mobilize support for the nascent Wallace presidential campaign. The conference included Willis

Carto. Working with Wallace's aide, Asa Carter, they produced a pamphlet headlined *Stand Up for America: The Story of George C. Wallace*, which was a sympathetic assessment of the career and political future of George Wallace. The book presented a highly selective portrait of Wallace, depicting him as a man that appealed to people in all sections of the country, with a special hold on Slavic Americans in the North. Liberty Lobby mailed 175,000 copies of the pamphlet and made available an additional 150,000 copies to the Wallace campaign. In Wallace, Carto saw a candidate who had the potential to reach out to segments of the population that the Goldwater campaign had ignored.[5] In order to reach these prospective voters, Carto founded a support group for the Wallace campaign.

Youth for Wallace and the National Youth Alliance

Carto was responsible for establishing the Youth for Wallace organization in 1968. A front called Action Associates sent forty to fifty thousand dollars to the new organization, which also used Liberty Lobby's mailing list, sold its literature, and was provided with the services of a Lobby employee, Doug Clee, who did clerical and administrative work.[6] Carto recalled his idea to create Youth for Wallace:

> The complaint of conservatives and patriots has always been that we need more youth in our organizations and part of this movement. So I came up with the idea when the Wallace candidacy [was in operation] of creating a Youth for Wallace [organization], because Wallace was really very popular among youth . . . . I set up a Youth for Wallace. And under the name Youth for Wallace I placed ads in all the college newspapers in the country. . . . We got thousands and thousands of members.[7]

After the elections in 1968, Youth for Wallace was reorganized as the National Youth Alliance (NYA). The NYA was created out of the remnants of the Youth for Wallace movement following a "semi-secret" meeting on November 15, 1968, at the Army Navy Country Club in Arlington, Virginia. Outwardly, the new organization sought to model itself as a conservative alternative to the new left on college campuses at that time and increase the receptiveness of students to right-wing ideas. Less acknowledged was that the organization was supposed to be based on the precepts of Yockey's *Imperium*. The delegates at the meeting adopted a four-point program, which announced opposition to drugs, Black Power, Students for a Democratic Society, and American involvement in foreign wars.[8]

Initially, the chairman of the NYA, John Acord, went along with the transformation. However, he had misgivings about the organization after a NYA conference held on January 25, 1969, at Conley's Motel near Monroeville, Pennsylvania. According to Acord, after the NYA conference, a party sponsored by the "Francis Parker Yockey Movement" was held in Carto's honor, with Louis Byers serving as the host. Both Carto and Curtis B. Dall attended the event. Carto, the featured speaker, talked about his encounter with Yockey and how Liberty Lobby could be the vehicle through which Yockey's vision as outlined in *Imperium* could be realized.[9] He also pledged his financial backing to the NYA. Acord grew concerned that the organization had become a front for Nazis. The meeting had fascistic trappings—several guests wore Nazi medals and insignias, Nazi flags bedecked the walls, and the hi-fi loudly played Nazi music, including the Horst Wessel Song. Shortly after the meeting, in February 1969, *Liberty Letter* announced the formation of the NYA and listed its address as 208 Third St., S.E., Washington, D.C.[10]

On March 2, 1969, Acord confronted Carto and told him that he would not allow him to influence the future course of the NYA. He complained about the authoritarian manner with which the organization had been taken over by Carto. Carto responded by changing the organization's address and rerouting its telephone. Soon thereafter, Acord and his colleague, Dennis McMahon, who served as National Vice Chairman, were summarily dismissed.

Another NYA conference was held in Pittsburgh on March 29–30 of that same year. Once again, according to one NYA member, James Sullivan, who attended, the meeting had Nazi trappings. A far right luminary, Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, gave a speech in which he encouraged Carto to eliminate "unsavory" elements from the organization. Finally, an election was held in which the "anti-Nazi" slate, led by Patrick Tifer of Michigan, won. Not taking defeat lightly, Carto, who was aligned with the "Nazi" contingent, delivered an impassioned speech for unity. When the vote went against him, according to Sullivan, Carto threw a "colossal tantrum." Carto's faction effectively ignored the results and broke up the meeting after they had lost the election. They may have anticipated such an eventuality: nearly a month before, on March 5, Carto instructed three Liberty Lobby employees, Gerald and Carol Dunn and Anne Dabney, to incorporate the NYA in the District of Columbia. Soon thereafter, Carto placed Louis Byers in charge of the NYA.[11] Previously, Byers had been a member of the John Birch Society, but left because of its opposition to anti-Semitism and overt racism.

The National Youth Alliance attracted some high-profile individuals, including a retired admiral, John Crommelin, who acted as an advisor to the group. He later ran for a Senate seat and the vice presidency under the National States Rights Party label.[12] Another major figure in the organization was Revilo P. Oliver, who was born in 1911 in Corpus Christi, Texas, and attended high school in Louisiana and California. He had completed his undergraduate studies at Pomona College and attended graduate school at the University of Illinois at Urbana, where he received a doctorate in classics. He spent the remainder of his professional career there, where he taught graduate courses in classical philology, Spanish, and Italian. During World War II, he worked as a code-breaker for the Army Security Agency located at Arlington Hall in Virginia.[13] He later recounted that it was during this period that he developed an abiding contempt for the federal government in Washington.[14]

Through his numerous writings, Oliver developed a reputation as an intellectual doyen of the far right. In his tract, *Christianity and the Survival of the West*, Oliver lamented the decline of Christianity as a unifying principle for Western civilization. He also championed Constitutionalism as an appropriate mythos for channeling nationalism and patriotism in America. In his early writings, Oliver was loath to express unbridled support for authoritarianism in the language of Spengler, Carto, and Yockey. He maintained that Communism was a conspiracy, not a true ideology. To defend his claim, he pointed out that prominent capitalists, such as Jacob Schiff, had donated considerable amounts of money to Bolshevik leaders.[15] One of his more controversial tracts was *Conspiracy or Degeneracy?* which was the transcript of a lecture that he gave at an annual Rally for God, Family and Country held in Boston and sponsored by the John Birch Society and its supporters. In the tract, he characterized Jews as the destroyers of civilizations.[16] His overt anti-Semitism alarmed Birch Society leaders and offended Jewish members, which led to difficulties for Oliver within the organization. As a result, he resigned not long after the speech. Once he had left the Society, Oliver immersed himself in the texts of Oswald Spengler, Carl Jung, and research on racial anthropology.[17]

Oliver's relationship with Carto vacillated from amicable to hostile over the years. He once described Carto in a confidential letter to Dall, which was only later made public, as "a species that I do not have the stomach to contemplate without nausea."[18] Again in 1970, Oliver allegedly sent a semi-private letter to Colonel B. Dall in which he characterized Carto as untrustworthy and money-grubbing and accused him of having a substantial Swiss bank account.[19]

Despite the fact that Carto recruited some capable activists to the NYA, the organization ultimately could not survive as a result of the unstable personalities that composed its membership. Like so many of Carto's projects, it was not long before the NYA was wracked by internecine conflicts.

According to an ex-associate, Louis T. Byers, Carto endeavored to present himself as a respectable conservative. However, Byers insisted that Carto's true feelings were those of a white nationalist whose ultimate aim was to create a new power base that would be ready to act when the country turned hard to the right.[20] Byers eventually had a falling out with Carto, who later sued him for stealing Liberty Lobby's mailing list. Byers later described Carto as "a complete opportunist [who] says he's a National Socialist, but [. . .] isn't—he's a French peasant turned Jewish capitalist."[21]

Oliver sided with the Louis Byers wing of the National Youth Alliance. In doing so, he found himself the butt of attacks in the *Washington Observer*, an organ under the direction of Carto. Later, Oliver issued statements critical of the Carto wing and made these known to C. H. Simonds, the author of a *National Review* cover story that was highly critical of Carto.[22] However, after several years, Oliver eventually made his way back to the Liberty Lobby network, and his name even appeared on the masthead of Carto's *Journal of Historical Review*. Indeed, Oliver's scholarly credentials added academic credibility to the fledging journal.[23] Despite personal differences, Oliver has credited Carto with making significant contributions to the right-wing cause.[24]

By 1971, the National Youth Alliance had split into two factions due to internal strife. One faction, Youth Action, remained loyal to Carto, while the other, which included Byers, eventually became known as the National Alliance and came under the direction of Dr. William L. Pierce.[25]

Dr. William L. Pierce

Pierce joined the NYA soon after Byers took over its reins. The organization was joined by supporters of the publication *Statecraft*, which was a racist, anti-Semitic newsletter published in Virginia. Pierce would go on one day to become one of the most significant figures in the American extreme right.

By the 1990s, the denizens of the American far right looked upon Pierce as their elder statesman. He was obviously a man of considerable intelligence—he was once employed as part of a research team at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico as well as at a Jet Propulsion laboratory in California. Later, he earned a PhD in physics from the University of Colorado and went on to become a tenured professor at the University of Oregon. However, he soon tired of academe, and in 1966 he went to work as the editor of *National Socialist World*—a journal published by George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party.

After the death of its founder, Rockwell, the American Nazi Party soon fell into disarray. By 1970 Pierce broke with that organization to join the National Youth Alliance under the tutelage of Willis Carto. Pierce was looking for a new vehicle with which to spread his views. For his part, Carto was looking for a young, competent leader and seemed to find one in the highly capable Pierce. Given his experience as a college professor, Pierce hoped that the organization would be involved in campus activities, such as demonstrations, to counter the activism of the new left. Furthermore, he wanted to create a periodical geared to young radicals that contained rightist themes. Under the imprimatur of the National Youth Alliance, Pierce began publishing *Attack!*, whose first issue appeared in the fall of 1969.[26]

Pierce expressed an interest in the National Youth Alliance to Byers, who soon brought him on board. By 1970, however, Pierce split from Carto. According to Pierce, Byers told him that the National Youth Alliance was five hundred thousand dollars in debt and would soon run out of credit. Pierce claimed that Carto was unconcerned about this development and was prepared to let the organization die. Byers had originally incorporated the NYA in the District of Columbia. However, by the time Pierce began working for the organization, it was, in his words, "stone dead," at least in D.C. No formal transfer of power took place between Byers and Pierce. Rather, Pierce formed a new corporation under the title National Youth Alliance in Virginia and rented office space for it in Arlington, Virginia. In 1974, Pierce discontinued the National Youth Alliance and created still another organization called the National Alliance, which was formally incorporated in Virginia, and which he continued to lead until his death in 2002.[27]

Best known for his authorship of *The Turner Diaries*—a fictional story often described as a "blueprint for revolution"—Pierce was arguably the most influential revolutionary theoretician that the American extreme right ever produced. His novel gained him considerable notoriety and was even thought to have inspired several episodes of right-wing violence, including the campaigns of The Order and the Aryan Republican Army, the Oklahoma City bombing, and the London bombing spree of David Copeland.[28] His sequel, *Hunter*, was alleged to have contributed to the popularity of the "leaderless resistance" approach favored by some right-wing advocates of terrorism.

After Pierce's departure from the Carto wing, the newspaper *Statecraft* carried several articles that accused him of being an FBI agent.[29] Pierce countered in the pages of his newspaper, *Attack!* by accusing Carto of embezzlement.[30] In September 1971, Pierce was indicted by a grand jury in Washington, D.C., for allegedly selling a stolen Liberty Lobby mailing list, which reportedly, contained twenty-four thousand names. However, this indictment was later dismissed by Judge Alfred Burka in Superior Court. According to Pierce's attorney, John Harper, Pierce had acquired the mailing list through a legitimate transaction.[31]

Having interviewed both Pierce and Carto, I knew that they had a strong animosity toward each other. In his initial conversations with me, Carto speculated on how Pierce was able to avoid being prosecuted in the Fort Smith Sedition Trial in Arkansas in 1987–1988, in which a who's who of some of the most radical elements of the far right were prosecuted for conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government.[32] Carto suggested that perhaps Pierce cut a deal with authorities in order to escape prosecution. More likely, however, there was no strong evidence to implicate Pierce in the putative conspiracy. An FBI memorandum from 1987 stated that FBI investigators in Little Rock believed that of the right-wing leaders being investigated in this matter, the case against Pierce was the weakest. Despite the obvious animosity between the two, Carto seemed to have a genuine admiration for Pierce. He commented on Pierce's high intelligence and believed that he and his National Alliance had done much to promote the racialist message. In May 2007, Carto participated in a Holocaust revisionist conference that was sponsored by the National Alliance and held at its headquarters in Hillsboro, West Virginia. It was the first time that Carto had any collaboration with the National Alliance since his falling out with Pierce in the early 1970s.

For his part, Pierce occasionally dismissed his former colleague, Carto, as a huckster who took money away from the more credulous right-wing supporters. He once characterized the *Spotlight* as "a sort of National Enquirer" of the movement, which catered to the "elderly, right-wing cranks of the type who believe that the bar codes (Universal Product Codes) which are printed on most merchandise are the biblical 'mark of the beast' and who refuse to use zip codes, on the grounds that they're part of some government scheme to control the population." Further, Pierce dismissed the credibility of the sources that the *Spotlight* had relied upon for its stories, claiming that they were actually invented by Carto or a *Spotlight* writer. Nevertheless, Pierce believed that Carto had actually done some good in that he was chiefly responsible for the creation of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). When the IHR and Liberty Lobby feuded, the National Alliance expressed support for the former. Carto's longtime confidant, Michael Collins Piper, conceded that, despite their differences, both the National Alliance and Liberty Lobby basically moved "in the same direction" and that their differences were mainly in tone and emphasis.[33]

Although Youth for Wallace and its successor, the National Youth Alliance, ultimately failed, Carto still sought to support the next presidential candidacy of George Wallace.

American Independent Party

In 1969, Wallace campaign workers split into two factions. One faction, led by T. Coleman Andrews, included several prominent members of the John

Birch Society and received the endorsement of Wallace. It called itself the American Party and espoused a platform that emphasized anti-Communism, support for quick victory in Vietnam, a U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations, an end to all disarmament activities, an effort to liberate Cuba and China from Communism, an appeal to impeach "Communist" members of the U.S. Supreme Court, a repeal of the U.S. income tax, and the abolition of the Federal Reserve Board.[34] The other faction, led by William K. Shearer, called itself the National Committee of Autonomous State Parties. Essentially, it was a coalition of various state parties registered under the labels of the American Independent Party, Conservative Party, and Constitutional Party. Since the 1950s, Carto had endeavored to unite many of these entities under one banner.[35] Shearer would later go on to lead Carto's Populist Party during the 1980s.

Other candidates ran under the American Independent Party label besides Wallace. Both Liberty Lobby and the Birch Society supported the 1972 presidential candidacy of California Representative John Schmitz when he ran under the American Party label. In August 1972, Schmitz and his running mate, Tom Anderson, were nominated by a convention of the American Party that was held in Louisville, Kentucky.[36] However, they captured only one million votes, far fewer than the nearly ten million that Wallace had received in 1968. As one observer noted, their campaign amounted to little more than promoting the John Birch Society. Schmitz propounded numerous conspiracy theories and wrote an introduction for Gary Allen's classic rightist tract, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, which he promoted during the campaign.[37] Running in 1976, the former Georgia Governor, Lester Maddox, received only 170,000 votes, running as the AIP presidential candidate.[38] Around that time, the American Party began to disintegrate.

As a result of these declines and disenchantment with the two major parties, some elements of the far right thought about creating a new third party. In the 1980s, Carto would pursue such an endeavor with the creation of the Populist Party, which is the subject of chapter 14. However, he would undertake other projects before then, most important, a tabloid style newspaper called the *Spotlight*.

10

The *Spotlight*

Over his long career, Carto has worked tirelessly to develop independent media outlets to disseminate his uncensored views. On numerous occasions, Carto has expressed concern over the increasing concentration of ownership in the American media and its consequences for free speech for dissidents such as himself.[1] In order to surmount what he sees as the media monopoly and also advance his political agenda, Carto has launched numerous publications—usually short monthly newsletters—and has published over two hundred books.[2]

American Mercury and the Legion for the Survival of Freedom

In addition to newsletters, Carto has published some lengthier journals. For example, in 1966, Carto purchased *American Mercury* and ceased publishing *Western Destiny*, on which he had collaborated with Roger Pearson. That same year, *American Mercury* announced that it would take over the subscription base of *Western Destiny*.[3] Bruce Holman, an associate of Carto's at Liberty and Property, became chairman in 1966 of the reorganized *American Mercury* magazine, which was transformed into a quarterly journal.[4] Several key Liberty Lobby members were listed as contributing editors, including Colonel Curtis B. Dall, Joseph P. Kamp, Ned Touchstone, and Kenneth Goff. When the revamped magazine was released in June 1966, it included a joint subscription arrangement with another publication, called the *Washington Observer Newsletter*, which had been published twice a month since 1965 and edited by John Henshaw under the pseudonym Lee Roberts. Carto acquired the newsletter in 1966 and incorporated it into the monthly *American Mercury*.[5]

American Mercury had begun publication in 1924 and was originally edited by H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan. Under Mencken and Nathan's leadership, it quickly became one of the most prominent cultural magazines in America.[6] In 1952, long after Nathan and Mencken had left the *American Mercury*, the magazine was taken over by a religious group in Kansas City, Missouri, led by Russell McGuire, a wealthy man who earned his money in the munitions industry in Texas but resided in New York. Under his stewardship, *American Mercury* took on an increasingly anti-Jewish tone, which

brought harsh criticism from William F. Buckley, who demanded that those writers who appeared on the masthead of that journal as well as his own *National Review* choose one or the other. By doing so, Buckley took credit for expelling the extremists from the "responsible right-wing" (to use Buckley's terminology).[7] While other conservative institutions, such as the *National Review* and *Human Events*, became more moderate, Liberty Lobby maintained its original platform.[8] Later, a couple from McGallen, Texas—Jason and Marsha Matthews—took control of the magazine, which was controlled by an organization called the Legion for the Survival of Freedom (LSF), an entity which would go on to be an integral part of Carto's network.

In 1952, Frances Whalen Clark and the Matthews had incorporated the LSF as a nonprofit educational organization in Texas in 1952.[9] On November 30, 1964, Jason Matthews, the last of the LSF's, incorporators, died. LaVonne D. Furr of Houston, Texas, had worked for Jason Matthews as a secretary, and she inherited control of the magazine after Matthews passed away. Furr was a friend of retired General Edwin A. Walker, a prominent member of the John Birch Society, who had been relieved of his command of an army division in Europe because of a "pro-blue" Birch propaganda program he used to indoctrinate troops. After retiring from the Army in 1961, Walker, who lived in Dallas, Texas, became active with Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade. As a footnote to history, JFK's alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, was said to have actually aimed and fired his rifle through a windowpane at Walker on April 10, 1963, but missed.[10] Eventually, Walker became the chairman of the LSF, which published *American Mercury*, and for a short period of time worked as the journal's editor. Carto claimed that by the early 1960s, the organization was nearly bankrupt. In 1966, Carto took over the organization's debts and was appointed a voting member of the LSF's board and also its treasurer.[11] That same year, he brought Noontide Press under the LSF's nonprofit umbrella. For all intents and purposes, Carto assumed leadership over the LSF and was privately and publicly known as its "prime mover, controlling force and fund-raiser."[12] LaVonne Furr continued to serve as secretary of the LSF board, while her husband, Lewis, officially served as its president.[13]

Many prominent far right intellectuals wrote articles for *American Mercury*. For example, Wilmont Robertson (whose real name was Humphrey Ireland), author of *The Dispossessed Majority*, was a contributor to the journal as well as to *Western Destiny*.[14] Carto believed that Maguire had some affiliation with George Lincoln Rockwell, who would go on to found the American Nazi Party, since Rockwell had written a few pieces for *American Mercury* and was given a job on Maguire's staff in New York to help promote the magazine.[15] Other notable far right figures who wrote for the journal included Karl Hess, a former speechwriter for Barry Goldwater; John

A. Lovell, a leading British Israelite; Myron C. Fagan, who wrote extensively on the Communist penetration of Hollywood; Gerald L. K. Smith, a leading right-wing extremist, who was active from the 1930s until his death in 1976; Hilaire du Berrier, who also wrote for the John Birch Society's organ, *American Opinion*; Kenneth Goff, a leader of an affiliate organization of the Minutemen called the Soldiers of the Cross; Billy James Hargis; Dr. Revilo P. Oliver; and retired General Pedro A. del Valle.[16]

Under Carto's stewardship, *American Mercury* was recast as a vehicle for his political agenda. Throughout the 1960s, the Lobby enjoyed steady growth, and by the end of the decade *Liberty Letter* had a circulation of about 200,000.[17] However, the social and political turmoil by the end of that decade contributed to a sudden slow down in growth, and the constituent parts of the organization were disrupted. Not to be deterred, the Lobby hunkered down and actually expanded its network.

The *Spotlight*

Between 1973 and 1975, the Lobby undertook numerous projects. *Liberty Letter* ceased publication in 1975 and was replaced by the weekly newspaper, the *National Spotlight*.[18] Originally, the weekly paper started out as a twelve-page paper, but later it increased to twenty pages and was renamed the *Spotlight*.[19]

The tabloid-style newspaper prided itself on having the temerity and audacity to cover stories that were ignored by the major media. Project Censored—a media monitoring project based at Sonoma State University in California—has occasionally named the newspaper as among those publications that reported on one of the top "censored" stories of the year.[20] The paper endeavors to "get behind" the important stories of current affairs, and often in doing so, expose the sinister machinations of conspiracies imputed to them.

For example, the *Spotlight*'s articles sought to draw attention to the machinations of quasi-secret "globalist" entities such as the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Bilderberg Group. The Bilderberg Group is an unofficial association that takes its name from the Bilderberg Hotel in the Netherlands, at which the group held its first meeting in 1954 at the invitation of Dutch Crown Prince Bernhard.[21] The group usually meets once a year, but sessions are private and generally ignored by the major media, despite the presence of numerous high-powered elites in government, business, and the media. The Rockefeller and Rothschild families are alleged to be the principal organizers of the Bilderberg Group meetings. Working in concert, representatives are presumed to be coordinating elite ambitions to the detriment of the masses of the people.

Predating the Bilderberg Group is the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Created in 1921 with Rockefeller funding, the CFR publishes the prestigious *Foreign Affairs*, a highly influential journal in foreign policy circles. In effect, the CFR was created as the American branch of the London-based Royal Institute on International Affairs (RIIA), which was the brainchild of Cecil Rhodes. Given their British antecedents, it is not surprising that Carto would be suspicious of such bodies. After all, Carto has often identified Great Britain as a pernicious entity in the globalist conspiracy, arguing that the British have been America's principal enemy since before the Revolutionary War.[22] The British ruling and banking classes are occasionally conflated with Jews as part of a global conspiracy.

The CFR is composed exclusively of Americans. What could be referred to as a "cousin" organization to the CFR is the Trilateral Commission, which was founded in 1973, also with Rockefeller funding. However, it has far fewer members—roughly 300—consisting of representatives from North America, Western Europe, and Japan (hence the "trilateral" appellation). Occasional papers are released by the Trilateral Commission, as was a journal, *Trialogue* (now defunct). From its inception, David Rockefeller has served as the chairman of the North American branch. To Liberty Lobby, the Rockefeller family is held as the most despicable exemplar of irresponsible big business.[23] Not surprisingly, Liberty Lobby vehemently opposed President Gerald Ford's nomination of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President. His nomination even occasioned the issuance of an *Emergency Liberty Letter*.[24]

It is believed that the person responsible for introducing the Bilderberg Group and related organizations into the narrative of far right conspiracy theories is William Guy Carr.[25] His most notable work was *The Red Fog over America*, which was published in 1955. Carr returned to the Illuminati conspiracy and synthesized it with a strong anti-banker stance. Moreover, he implicated Jews as the force behind revolutions that toppled Europe's monarchies. Also, he wrote admiringly of aspects of the Axis powers' economic systems and claimed that international bankers conspired to destroy them.[26]

In an interview with Tom Valentine, Carto said that he first discovered the existence of the Bilderberg Group in 1957 in a column titled "Spooky Parley on Georgia Island," which appeared in the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*. Its author, Westbrook Pegler, reported on a meeting in 1957 that took place near Brunswick, Georgia, which was attended by sixty-seven representatives of the economic and political elite of the Western world. According to Carto, the first serious national coverage of the group outside of that column occurred in the June 1971 issue of *Liberty Lowdown*, when it reported on the June 1971 meeting held at the Woodstock Inn (which was owned by Laurence Rockefeller) in Woodstock, Vermont. The *Spotlight* investigative journalist, James P. Tucker, took the lead in exposing the alleged machinations of the Bilderberg Group and has since attempted to enter numerous meetings of the same group, but has always been turned away by the heavy security that guards these events, which are closed to the public and the media.[27]

As an integral part of the alleged globalist conspiracy, the Federal Reserve System has frequently come under fire as well. Although members of the Federal Reserve System's Board of Governors are appointed by the president and confirmed by the U.S. Senate, the *Spotlight* has correctly pointed out that it is in large part a collection of privately owned banks.[28] Furthermore, the Federal Reserve Board enjoys much autonomy, as the federal government exercises little control over its policies, including pay scales for its employees.[29]

In the realm of foreign affairs, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been an abiding theme in the *Spotlight*. Numerous stories depicted powerful U.S. politicians as subservient to the interests of Israel in order to curry favor with Jewish lobbying groups and leaders. American foreign policy, it was frequently asserted, has been hijacked in the Middle East, and the United States has been maneuvered into fighting Israel's wars. Although the *Spotlight* frequently contained articles highly critical of Zionism, it stopped short of implicating Jews in a one-world conspiracy such as that alleged in *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Instead, Liberty Lobby has consistently denied charges of anti-Semitism and maintained that it does not oppose Jews *qua* Jews, but rather individual Jews who happen to belong to various causes, such as Zionism, that Liberty Lobby sees as inimical to American interests. To make this point, *American Free Press* (the successor to the *Spotlight*) carried sympathetic articles on various segments of the Orthodox Jewish community that oppose Zionism mostly for religious reasons.[30] Essentially, Zionism, as it is originally construed, is the ideology that Jews should have their own independent state in Palestine. However, when used by the extreme right, the term connotes a quest for Jewish supremacism that often extends beyond Israel.[31] In that vein, Zionists are frequently castigated as dual loyalists, whose first allegiance is to Israel.

The tax protest movement often found a sympathetic voice in the *Spotlight*, which frequently carried articles and advertisements for books on the subject of taxes and their "questionable" constitutionality. Emblematic of its opposition to taxes, Liberty Lobby promoted the "Liberty Amendment," which would repeal the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which authorized the federal income tax.[32] Previously, Liberty Lobby promoted a book called *The Great Tax Fraud*, by Dr. Martin A. Larson. Also, Willis Stone's Liberty Amendment Committee worked with Liberty Lobby to promote a new wave of tax protest.[33] In 1972, Liberty Lobby announced its merger with United Taxpayers of America in an effort to strengthen and consolidate the tax protest movement.[34] In 1978, after Proposition 13 was passed in California, the far right began to consider an effort to revive the tax protest movement.[35] This issue in turn was taken up by the more radical Posse Comitatus movement during the 1980s.

In the area of economics, both the *Spotlight* and its successor, *American Free Press*, have frequently carried stories warning of an impending economic cataclysm.[36] In light of these fears, the *Spotlight* has recommended to its readers the purchase of gold and silver as safe investments. To that end, in 1975, Liberty Lobby established the Liberty Trust, which minted and sold silver medallions.[37]

By promoting a vast array of conspiracy theories and addressing hot-button issues that tended to receive little attention in the mainstream media, the *Spotlight* acquired a substantial readership in the far right. In addition to political stories, multipage supplemental inserts would occasionally be included in the *Spotlight* that carried ads for various folk remedies and contained articles asserting that the American Medical Association and the federal Food and Drug Administration deliberately conspired to keep Americans uninformed about such natural remedies.[38] By doing so, Carto reached out to the alternative health crowd as well.

The antiglobalist and antistatist themes appealed greatly to what is sometimes loosely referred to as the Christian Patriot movement, in which overt racial themes are absent. Yet the *Spotlight* also contained stories that appealed to the racialist right as well. However, its anti-Semitism was more concealed than in other racialist right-wing organs. In a sense, the *Spotlight* was an important bridge between various segments of the far right; but it was also somewhat unique, particularly in the way in which it delineated far right conspiracy theories into one of two themes. One theme, popularized by the John Birch Society, decries various globalist organizations, such as the CFR and the Bilderberg Group, which are seen as inimical to national sovereignty, and which, during the Cold War, were thought to have aided and abetted international Communism. However, anti-Semitic themes, as a general rule, were not included, and even frowned upon, in this genre of conspiracy theory. By contrast, the racialist right has emphasized an alleged Zionist or Jewish conspiracy as the guiding hand behind these globalist organizations and pays little attention to organizations such as the CFR and Bilderberg Group. To some observers this may appear to be opportunistic of Carto, that is, to blend all these conspiracy themes together in order to appeal to a larger audience. However, Carto's past indicates that he is quite intellectually eclectic and is able to integrate these seemingly disparate themes into his worldview.[39] He believes that in order to comprehend the true nature of the "conspiracy," one must look beneath the surface of politics to understand how entities that seemingly have contradictory agendas (e.g., plutocrats and Communists) work together to further subversive ends.

Other far right organs tend to focus on a narrower readership. In that sense, Liberty Lobby and the *Spotlight* serve as a big tent of sorts under which disparate elements of the far right can meet. Liberty Lobby's Michael Collins Piper commented on this aspect of the paper:

> We try to reach as many people as possible as what you would describe as far right. A lot of people in the far right don't like the *Spotlight*. Some people in the skinhead movement think the *Spotlight* is too tame whereas some of the people in the tax protest movement think the *Spotlight* is too radical. They think by not saying Israel or by not doing this or not doing that the ADL will realize they're just good American patriots. Whereas the skinheads come back and say, "Well you don't call the problem for what it is. It's the Jews or this or that or what have you." The *Spotlight* is trying to cover all areas of the far right and try to cover areas of interest for everybody. We've been called a *National Enquirer* of the far right. We do perceive ourselves as a newspaper. We do try to cover the news of what is happening at the national level in a way that is digestible to, not just the far right, but the public as whole. That's our ideal. Our ideal is to try to be a newspaper that can reach the public and convey a basic point of view.[40]

For over twenty-five years, Michael Collins Piper has worked closely with Carto. In college, he studied history and received a B.A. In 1979, while he was still a college student, Piper worked on the national campaign staff of the John Connally for President committee. A year later, Piper began working part-time for Liberty Lobby. After finishing college in 1982, he attended law school for one year, but left in 1983 to work for Liberty Lobby on a full-time basis. A prolific writer, Piper has contributed many articles to Carto's various publications. In addition, he has written several underground books that have sold well in far right and Holocaust revisionist circles. In recent years, he has traveled to several Islamic countries, where his revisionist theories and critique of Zionism have received a sympathetic audience. In March of 2003, Piper presented a lecture at the United Arab Emirates-based Zayed Center, in which he blamed the Israeli lobby in America—in an alliance with Christian fundamentalists, who sympathize with the aims of Zionism—for pushing for a United States-led war against Iraq.[41] In June 2006, he traveled to Malaysia, where he actually met the former Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad.[42] In December of that same year, he attended a conference in Tehran, at which participants criticized the mainstream historical version of the Holocaust; President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad actually addressed the conference. Over the years, Piper appears to have remained fiercely loyal to Carto in spite of the numerous setbacks they have experienced.

The success of the *Spotlight* attracted many rightists to Carto. As a result, he was able to greatly expand his network.

The Big Tent

Over its three-decade run, the *Spotlight* became the organ of the American far right. Although some of the more radical elements of the movement may have derided its more subtle approach toward Jews and the race issue, the *Spotlight* attracted many readers from all segments of the movement. At its peak, near the end of the Carter Administration, the *Spotlight* reached up to 330,000 subscribers. Even some celebrities with conservative leanings have supported Carto. For example, John Wayne, the famous Hollywood actor, was a longtime subscriber to the *Spotlight*.[43] Other "closet" supporters of Liberty Lobby in Hollywood included Gloria Swanson, Harry Von Zell, Adolf Menjou, and Eddie Albert.[44]

During the 1970s, Carto continued to make more contacts in the far right, including Robert Bolivar DePugh, the leader of the now defunct Minutemen, which he founded in Missouri in 1960. The Minutemen was basically an anti-Communist group that ironically shaped its organizational structure on a cell system reminiscent of the Communist revolutionary models of Lenin and Mao.[45] Eventually, the organization drew considerable attention from governmental authorities, including then Attorney General Robert Kennedy.[46] Consequently, the organization was quickly infiltrated and effectively neutralized. In general, the organization was more rhetoric than action. However, some members were responsible for blowing up a police station in Redmond, Washington, and also attempted to rob three banks in Seattle.[47] One member, Keith Gilbert, was implicated in the theft of fourteen hundred pounds of TNT, which he allegedly planned to use to bomb an ADL convention.[48] Not surprisingly, the ADL paid close attention to the Minutemen and, in 1968, sponsored a critical study of the group.[49]

By 1970, however, the organization was practically defunct, as DePugh and another member, Wally Peyson, were finally apprehended after a 17-month manhunt and charged with federal firearm violations. Both were convicted and sent to federal prison. Despite the fact that the Minutemen achieved virtually no significant success, its organizational structure would prove an appealing model for subsequent militia activists. Another connection that the Minutemen had with the contemporary far right was that several of its members were early followers of the Christian Identity religion.[50]

Undaunted, DePugh continued to promote right-wing causes even after his release from prison. In 1973, DePugh sought to reestablish himself through Liberty Lobby, but failed.[51] DePugh appeared as the guest of honor at the third annual convention of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy in 1973, which was held in Kansas City.[52] Speakers included Tom Anderson, a Birch Society member and American Party candidate; Ned Touchstone, the editor of the *Councilor*, a popular organ of the Citizens' Councils movement; and Frank Capell, the editor of *Herald of Freedom*.[53] In the early 1970s, DePugh actually wrote some articles for Carto's *American Mercury*.[54] In 1977, DePugh organized a conference that sought to unite various elements of the far right. He gathered what he believed were the most important groups, including John Harrell's Christian-Patriots Defense League, Robert Shelton's United Klans of America, and Carto's Liberty Lobby.[55] But, by the late 1970s, DePugh had begun to make openly vitriolic attacks on Carto, commenting that "no person in the entire conservative movement has done more to foster dissension and disunity than Willis A. Carto."[56] Afterwards, the two appeared to have a permanent falling out.[57]

The Lyndon LaRouche network has also occasionally cooperated on projects with Liberty Lobby.[58] The network is led by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., a longtime political activist who originally cast himself as a leftist. Growing up in a Quaker family, LaRouche had a long background in left-wing politics and styled himself as an authority on Marxian economics. Later, he repositioned himself and came to be regarded by some observers as a rightist who sought to develop an American style of fascism. His organization, however, defies simple categorization, and it could probably be more aptly described as a political cult with a penchant for convoluted and prolix conspiracy theories that center on the British royal crown, which LaRouche identifies as the principal culprit in the international illicit drug trade.[59] Despite his right-wing claims, my research suggests that LaRouche is not generally regarded as a fellow traveler among others in the far right.

Be that as it may, in 1975 LaRouche began to reach out to elements of the radical right, including Carto. According to an internal memorandum of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC, an organization led by LaRouche), he urged his followers to work with some elements of the political right in order to defeat the forces of the Rockefeller family.[60] Ken Duggan, the editor of a rightist publication called the *Illuminator*, had a brief association with members of the LaRouche network, most notably with Scott Thompson, during which he introduced some of them to Willis Carto.[61] For many years, the Rockefeller empire has been a principal bugbear of Carto, so to be expected, he was amenable to this turnabout in LaRouche. Both agreed that they would work together to expose the machinations of the Rockefeller forces. Some sources believe that Carto may have even funneled contributions through Liberty Lobby to LaRouche's 1976 presidential campaign accounts.[62] LaRouche's electoral vehicle was the U.S. Labor Party, which in 1976, released a critical report on presidential candidate Jimmy Carter, accusing him of being a tool of secret international elites. Liberty Lobby initially criticized the report for failing to implicate Jewish bankers as well. Nevertheless, the two organizations began to collaborate soon thereafter on various projects.[63] LaRouche's newspaper, *New Solidarity*, began carrying articles that blamed the Rothschilds and other Jewish bankers for a wide assortment of crimes.[64] Yet LaRouche maintains that he does not attack Jews *qua* Jews; rather, he claims to criticize Jews who happen to hold positions with which he disagrees. Nevertheless, this creeping anti-Jewish animus and dalliance with the political right alienated some Jewish and non-Jewish staffers who worked for LaRouche. Upon discovering the increasing collaboration with Liberty Lobby, one member of LaRouche's intelligence staff, Kevin Coogan, resigned from the organization.[65] As a footnote to the story, many years later Coogan would go on to write a lengthy biography of Francis Parker Yockey—Carto's political mentor.[66]

In the 1980s, LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee developed a "tri-partisan strategy" with which to compete in elections. In addition to his own party, his candidates would usually work within the Democratic Party in traditionally Republican districts. In those districts, Democratic Party officials often paid scant attention to the candidates.[67] Therefore, LaRouche's candidates were able to "fly under the radar" and win some nominations.

Although the LaRouche organization and Liberty Lobby both shared a penchant for conspiracy theories implicating plutocrats, such as the Rockefellers, members of Liberty Lobby were eventually disillusioned by LaRouche's relative softness on Zionists and Jews. For their part, LaRouchites tended to view members of Liberty Lobby as "rednecks" and "idiots."[68] Liberty Lobby defended its alliance with the seemingly leftist organization by asserting that the U.S. Labor Party had done more than any other group "to confuse, disorient, and disunify the Left."[69] In late 1988, LaRouche was convicted on a conspiracy charge after he allegedly sought to defraud the IRS and deliberately defaulted on thirty million dollars in loans from contributors.[70] He received a 15-year prison sentence but was released on parole in 1994. He accused the ADL of orchestrating what he saw as the political persecution against him and published at least two books on his ordeal.[71]

Carto also reached out to overseas activists. The Canadian-based Crown Commonwealth League of Rights, founded by Eric Butler, became a coordinating body for numerous right-wing extremist groups in North America, including Liberty Lobby.[72] Pat Walsh, who once served as a Canadian correspondent for the *Spotlight*, was a leader of the far right Canadian Freedom Foundation.[73]

Inasmuch as Carto has been sympathetic to the policy of apartheid, he has sought to assist pro-white organizations in Africa. Liberty Lobby sponsored the Friends of Rhodesian Independence and placed newspaper ads that opposed international sanctions against Rhodesia. It was claimed that blacks were treated well in Rhodesia, and that the turmoil in that country had been orchestrated by agitators from Communist nations.[74] The organization also took U.S. activists on tours of southern Africa to meet with Rhodesian and South African officials.[75]

Still another organization with which Carto associated was the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), an umbrella organization founded in the late 1960s with financial assistance from both the South Korean and Taiwanese governments for the purpose of fighting Communism on a global basis. The organization included a diverse collection of groups, including both respectable conservatives and more radical representatives as well.[76] Ivor Benson, a South African correspondent for the *Spotlight*, served as the leader of the South African chapter of the WACL.[77] During the 1980s, the WACL was believed to have helped coordinate the Reagan administration's covert aid to the Nicaraguan Contras.[78] Some of the western European chapters included neofascists such as the Italian Social Movement (MSI).[79]

The election of Jimmy Carter to the presidency in 1976 seemed to have a catalyzing effect on Liberty Lobby's constituencies, who were put off by Carter's unabashed liberalism. As Curtis Dall warned, the new administration would "destroy America" if they were not vigilant.[80] On account of the increasing attention that Carto and Liberty Lobby received, eventually opposition mobilized against them.

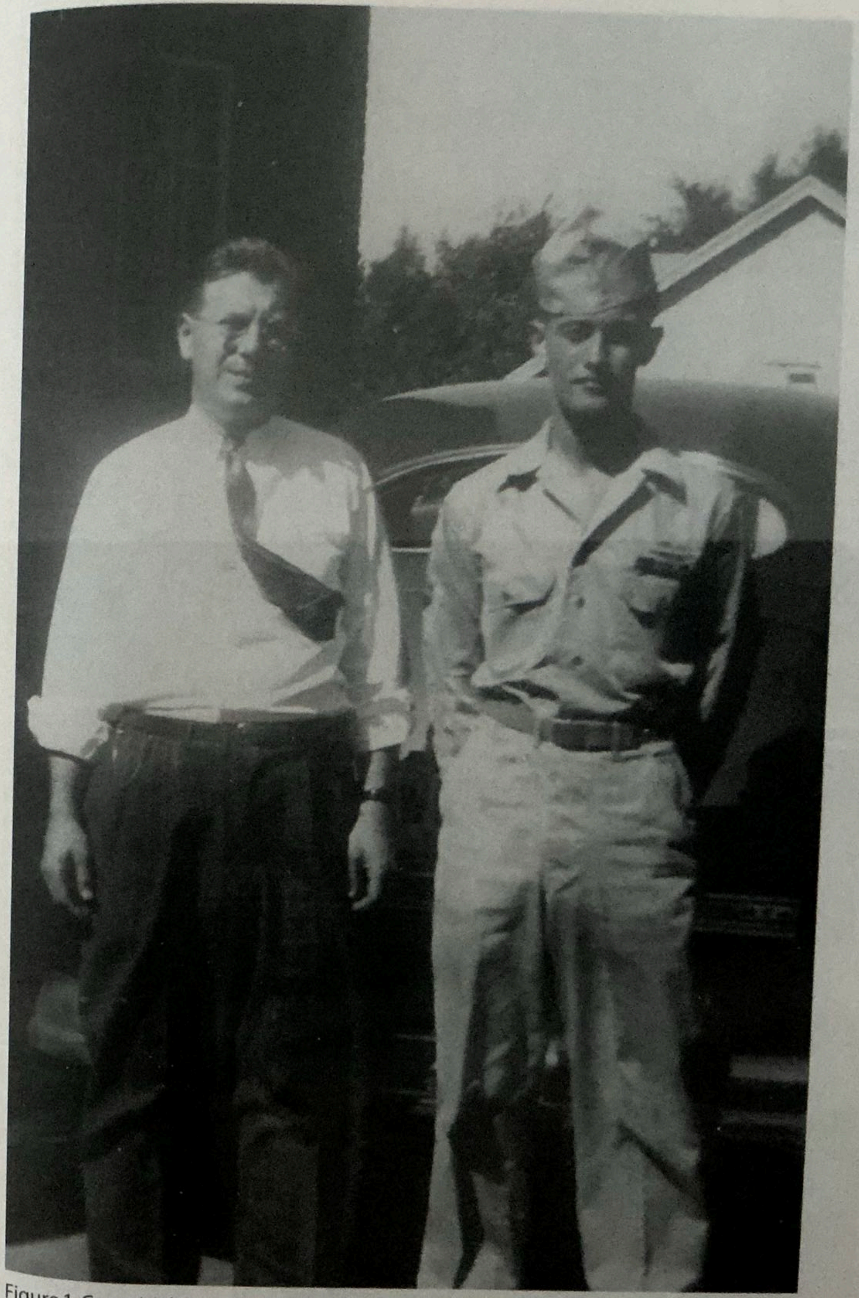

Figure 1. Carto (*right*) with his father after discharge from the Army in 1945. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

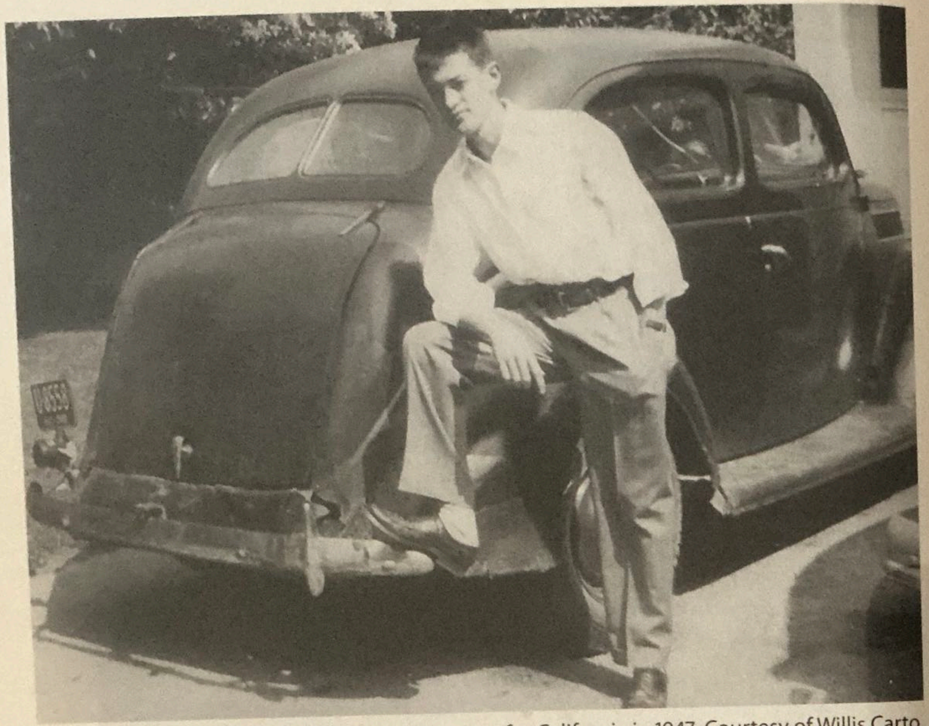

Figure 2. Carto with his 1937 Ford before leaving for California in 1947. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

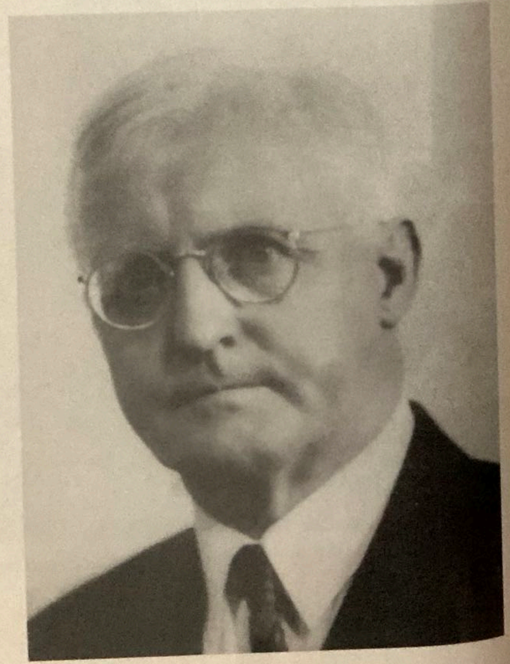

Figure 3. Charles Smith, leader of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, who was instrumental in helping Carto publish Francis P. Yockey's *Imperium*. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

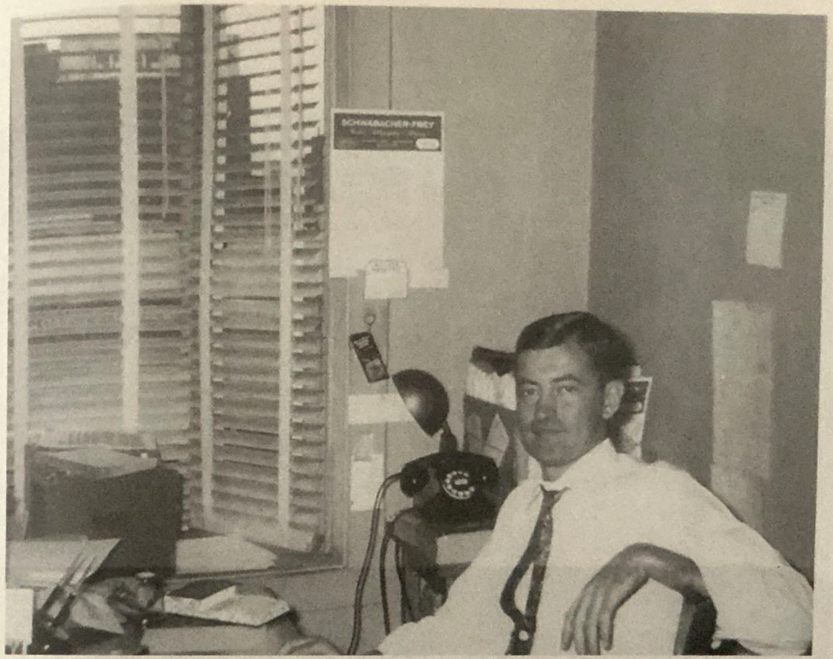

Figure 4. A young Carto at his desk. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

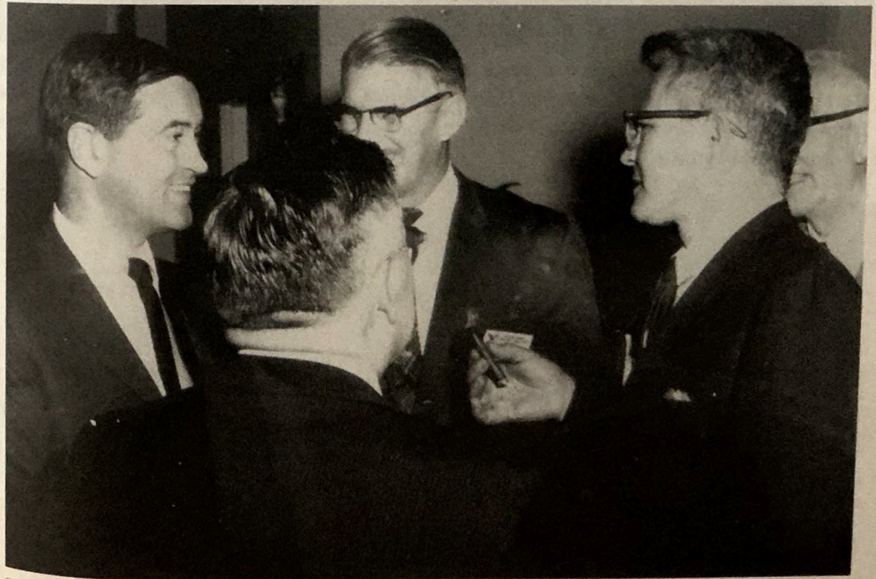

Figure 5. Carto (*left*) with Richard Cotton (*center*), former Rep. John Rarick (D-LA) (*right*), and Cliff Sandahl (*back to camera*). Courtesy of Willis Carto.

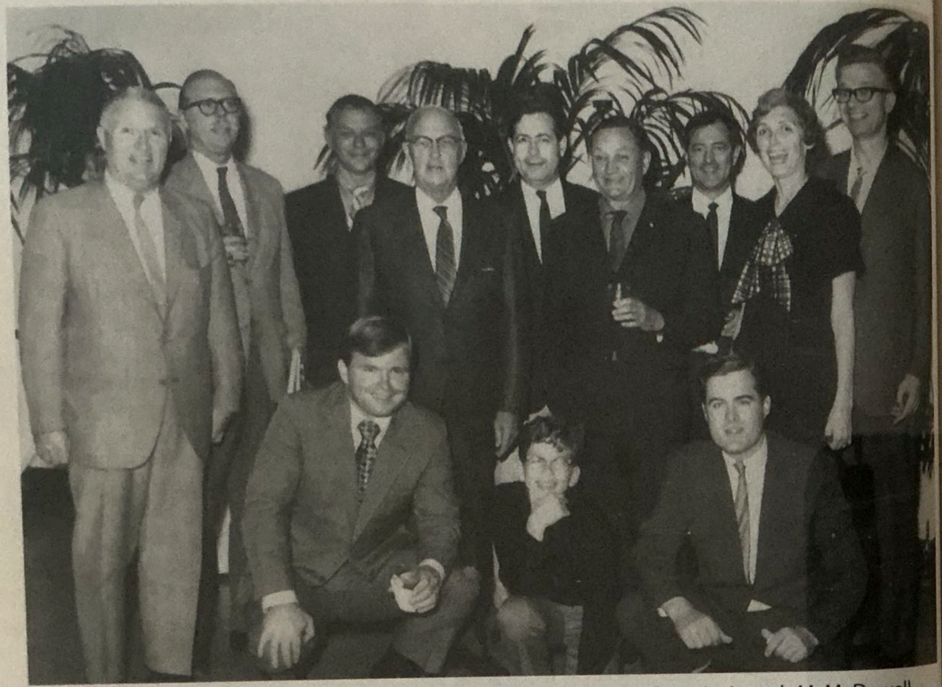

Figure 6. Group photo of Carto with associates. *From left to right*: Captain Joseph M. McDowell, Warren Keller, Bob Bartell, former Rep. J. Irving Whalley (R-PA), Herman Harding, Ivor Benson, Carto, Carol and Gerald Dunn. *Foreground from left to right*: Jack McGann, Scott Richardson, Jerry Myers. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

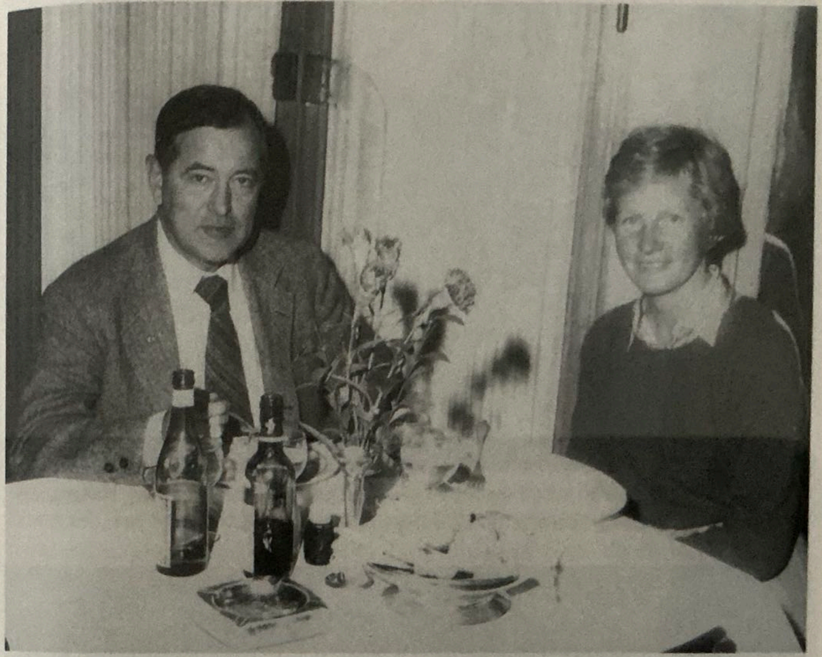

Figure 7. Carto with his wife Elizabeth in Rome, 1978. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

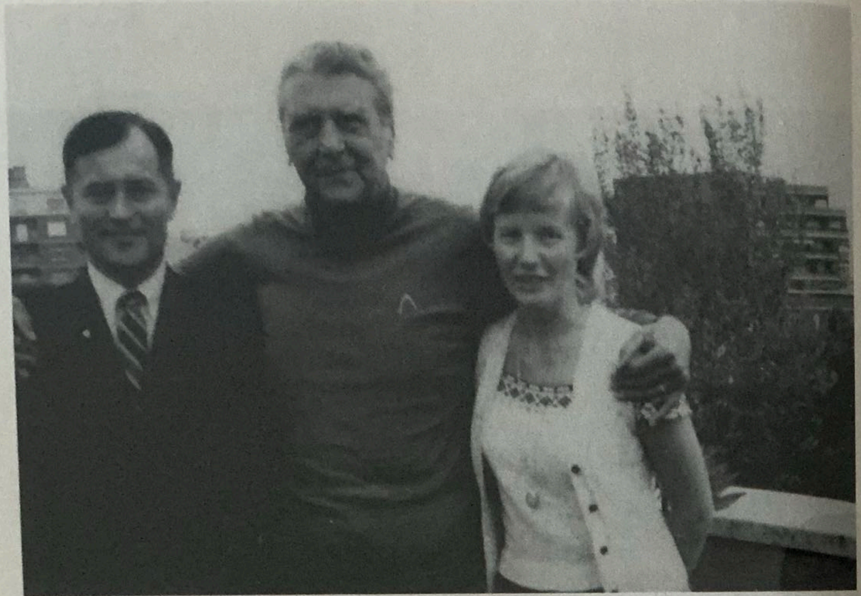

Figure 8. Carto (*left*) with wife Elizabeth (*right*) and Otto Skorzeny (*center*), Hitler's top commando, in Madrid, Spain, in 1973. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

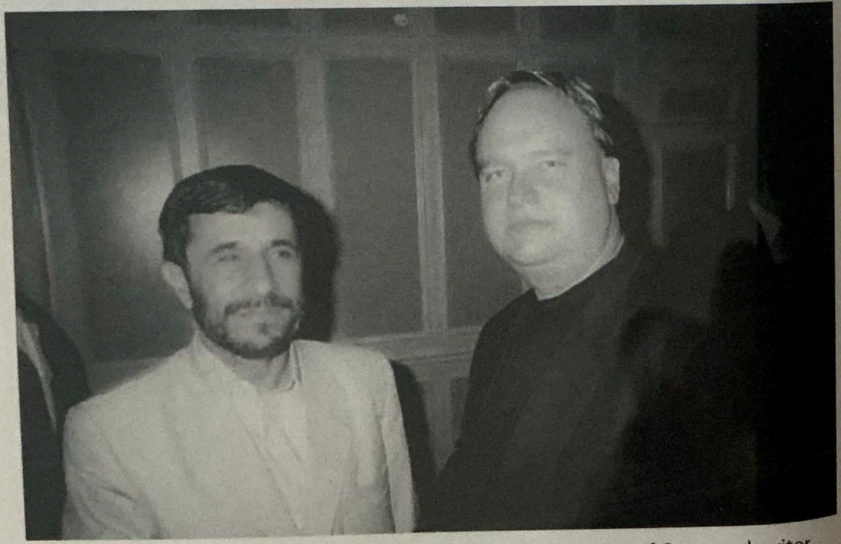

Figure 9. Michael Collins Piper, a longtime and trusted associate of Carto and writer for *American Free Press*, with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Courtesy of Willis Carto.

11

Opposition

Carto's efforts to forge a broad rightist coalition have not gone unnoticed by his ideological opponents. He has faced criticism from several quarters, including the mainstream media and various monitoring, or "watchdog" groups, most notably, his chief nemesis—the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Since his earliest days in politics, Carto has been a critic of the ADL, lambasting the organization in the early issues of *Right*. Inasmuch as he has fought several pitched battles with this Jewish defense organization, an overview of its history is in order.

The Anti-Defamation League

The ADL was founded in 1913 in Chicago, Illinois, when an attorney, Sigmund Livingston, persuaded the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith to establish a defense agency for Jews in America.[1] Although mild strains of anti-Semitism had previously occurred throughout American history, it began to emerge for the first time in significant fashion as large numbers of Eastern European Jews arrived in America. The native host population met the Jewish immigrants, like virtually all newcomers, with some degree of hostility. Furthermore, unlike previous Jewish immigrants from the nineteenth century, who were primarily German in national origin and well-established in their communities, many of the new Jewish immigrants were from Eastern Europe and tended to be from economically and socially marginalized backgrounds. What is more, they brought with them their own unique attire and customs, which were viewed as peculiar and with suspicion by some Americans. Jews quickly became the butt of jokes in vaudeville routines and in the fledging motion picture industry.[2] Thus, a chief aim of the ADL was to counter negative stereotypes and caricatures of Jews in the media. These developments coincided with a period of renascent nativism in America. In 1915, the Ku Klux Klan was resurrected at Stone Mountain, Georgia, and a wave of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant nationalism swept virtually all regions of the country. Finally, the Leo Frank affair of 1913–1915 shocked the Jewish community and added a sense of urgency for the creation of new Jewish defense agencies.[3] In this charged and potentially hostile atmosphere, the ADL set out to protect Jewish interests.

Within a few years, the ADL had significantly expanded its operations and attained a great deal of respectability and political clout. Much of its newfound influence was devoted to one of its highest priorities, that is, exposing and countering right-wing extremists. In 1931, then ADL National Director Richard Gutstadt, founded the fact-finding department, which gathered intelligence on extremist organizations.[4] During the interwar years, the ADL collaborated with various law enforcement agencies, including the U.S. Department of Justice, with which it developed a good working relationship. By its own admission, the ADL supplied information to the Department of Justice on native fascists and other right-wing extremists.[5] At that time, the ADL sought to conceal from the press its cooperation with law enforcement authorities, so that it would not fuel hostility from some quarters of the public.[6]

The ADL has not depended on a rigid formula to pursue its interests and goals. Rather it has adapted its tactics to meet the changing threat to Jews and other minority groups.[7] One technique that it has frequently applied is public exposure of extremists. The purpose of this tactic is to isolate and marginalize extremists from the society at large. The ADL's effectiveness in countering right-wing extremism stems in large part from its ability to control much of the information about this subject. Toward this end, the ADL moved its national headquarters from Chicago to New York in 1947 in an effort to take better advantage of the mass media.[8] By publishing numerous reports on extremist groups and their leaders, the ADL has greatly influenced the perception of the far right in the eyes of policy makers and academic researchers.[9]

Over the years, the ADL has gained considerable strength and accumulated substantial resources. In the postwar era, there has been an increasing professionalization of its staff, as qualified individuals perform specialized tasks.[10] Concomitant with this development has been the compartmentalization of its functions. Several departments concentrate on specific issues and areas, including fact-finding, civil rights, research, international affairs, government affairs, legal affairs, and education. Moreover, the ADL is very well financed; as of the end of the year 2004, the ADL recorded assets of $20,710,552, received an annual income of $55,444,681,[11] and employed over four hundred persons, including an extensive legal staff.[12] Finally it maintains thirty-three regional offices in various American cities and foreign countries, including Austria, Canada, and Israel.

Much of the ADL's strength and continuity can be explained by the fact that many American Jews—their material and social success notwithstanding—still have a strong sense of insecurity and believe that anti-Semitism remains a serious problem in the United States.[13] Despite the relative weakness of the contemporary American far right, many American Jews believe that, under certain conditions, an anti-Semitic movement could become stronger.[14] Consequently, many Jewish Americans are willing to make generous donations, not only to the ADL and other Jewish defense organizations, but to other anti-rightist watchdog groups as well.

The ADL has identified several different organizations as a serious threat, not only to the American Jewish community, but to the democratic structure of America as well. Judging by the ADL's literature, the John Birch Society was regarded as the most serious threat during the 1960s. To counter this perceived threat, the ADL released several publications warning of the undemocratic tendencies of the Birch Society. Some of these were books published by major publishing houses.[15] At first it may seem odd that the ADL felt particularly threatened by the Birch Society; after all, there were vociferous anti-Semites at that time who were seemingly more dangerous, such as George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party and Gerald L. K. Smith of the Christian Nationalist Party. However, at that time neither commanded the resources nor the followers of the Birch Society, which was estimated at its peak to have fifty to sixty thousand members.[16] As a result, the Birch Society seemed to have the potential of becoming a formidable mass movement. Furthermore, earlier research had suggested that even the seemingly innocuous conspiracy theories advanced by the Birch Society could potentially be transformed into anti-Semitic narratives.[17]

By the 1970s, the Birch Society began to run out of steam. Moreover, to the relief of the ADL, it never transformed itself into an anti-Semitic vehicle. In fact, the Birch Society expelled those members who were outspokenly anti-Semitic. But soon the ADL identified a new threat in Liberty Lobby. It was particularly concerned that Liberty Lobby was occasionally allotted time to testify before congressional committees.[18] By the late 1960s, the ADL claimed that Liberty Lobby had begun "to exert a degree of political influence on Capitol Hill."[19] Nonetheless, the ADL waited quite a long time before publicly condemning Carto. Finally, in 1974, Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein critically documented Carto's career in a book, *The New Anti-Semitism*, highlighting his strong opposition to Zionism and subdued admiration of Hitler.[20] The ADL was also concerned about the growing media power controlled by Carto, including publications such as *Right*, *Liberty Letter*, and *American Mercury*.

Also alarming was the fact that Liberty Lobby dabbled in other media, including a radio program called *This Is Liberty Lobby*, which was aired on stations around the country. Even more ominously, with the creation of the

Institute for Historical Review in 1978, Carto gave Holocaust revisionism an institutional basis it theretofore did not have. For these reasons, the ADL identified Willis Carto as the leading anti-Semite—and Liberty Lobby the leading anti-Semitic organization—from the 1970s to the 1990s.[21] In 1995, the ADL issued a report titled *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central; A Case Study in the Promotion of Anti-Semitism and Extremism*, in which it labeled Carto as "perhaps the most influential anti-Semite in the United States."[22]

Through various efforts, including monitoring, intelligence sharing, crafting anti-extremist legislation (e.g., hate crime laws), and educational programs, the ADL has done much to counteract the far right in the United States. In the area of free speech and the First Amendment, the ADL and other watchdog groups have tended to confront right-wing extremism more gingerly. What is more, efforts to legally exclude extremist views from the marketplace of ideas have not been very effective in the United States, as the U.S. Supreme Court has usually taken a broad interpretation of the First Amendment since World War II, even when this issue involves the espousal of unpopular causes.[23] Consequently, some watchdog groups have sought other means to effect the same result. For example, watchdog groups on numerous occasions have filed formal complaints with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) against radio stations that air extremist programs. They have argued that these programs serve no public interest and thus should not have access to the airwaves. The pattern appears to be that the FCC usually declines to take action in these cases on First Amendment grounds and defers to the local community to decide what action is appropriate.[24] As a result, the watchdogs have had to look for other ways to curtail extremists' use of the mass media. One method that has proved effective is applying pressure directly on media outlets and dissuading them from disseminating extremist views.

A good example of this method was illustrated in a case involving Liberty Lobby, which began airing *This Is Liberty Lobby* over scattered radio stations in 1973. The program expressed views that were highly critical of Israel and Zionism. For a while, Liberty Lobby enjoyed some success in this venture, as it was able to find nearly two hundred stations to carry its program.[25] And in 1974, Liberty Lobby appeared to have pulled off a major coup when it signed a contract with the Mutual Broadcasting System to carry the program on its extensive network of six hundred stations. The program frequently attacked the ADL. The ADL, in turn, took a keen interest in this development and sought to discourage radio stations from carrying the program. To meet this challenge, the ADL's chief fact-finder at the time, Irwin Suall, sent a directive to ADL regional offices with recommendations for action against the Liberty Lobby radio program. Regional directors were instructed to communicate directly with station managers and discourage them from airing the program. On June 18, 1974, an ADL operative, David Brody, wrote a letter to Irwin Suall, suggesting that the ADL file a petition to deny the renewal license of the WAVA radio station based in Arlington, Virginia, which was one of the first stations to adopt an all-news format.[26]

Ultimately, the ADL's campaign proved effective, as many radio stations cancelled the program. Some stations, though, were reluctant to pull the program because of free speech considerations. For example, an attorney for the radio station WVOX-FM recounted that, during his discussion with representatives of the ACLU, the station expressed concern that the ADL's efforts constituted a classic example of an effort to suppress freedom of speech.[27] Yet pressure exerted by the ADL ultimately led the Mutual Broadcasting Network to cancel its contract with Liberty Lobby in 1975.[28]

Liberty Lobby alleged that the ADL had conspired to abridge its First Amendment right to freedom of speech. Consequently, in early 1975, the organization brought suit against the ADL and Mutual Broadcasting in the U.S. District Court in Waco, Texas. The suit alleged that both the ADL and the Mutual Broadcasting System had illegally colluded to restrain trade in violation of federal antitrust laws. The court dismissed the case in 1976 because Carto had failed to comply with a court order obtained by the ADL legal counsel, requiring him to appear for questioning regarding issues in the suit.[29] Liberty Lobby appealed, but in 1978 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth District unanimously affirmed the district court's decision.[30] Later, Liberty Lobby released a book titled *Conspiracy Against Freedom*, which contained various memoranda obtained through the discovery process as part of the lawsuit, revealing that the ADL had applied pressure on numerous media outlets in order to dissuade them from carrying Liberty Lobby's radio program.[31]

At the time, Carto believed that a radio program would be a cost-effective way to reach a lot of people. He shared his thoughts on the controversy with me:

> Liberty Lobby purchased the Sun Radio Network, which supplied 24-hour programming. It had a financial commentator, automobile tips, home repair tips. Tom Valentine was on for three hours a day. The ADL and Jews have complete control over the advertising industry. Liberty Lobby found it impossible to get advertising. A lot of money was invested. [We] had hundreds of thousands of dollars of equipment invested in the radio station. Liberty Lobby could not get one bid when

> it went to sell the radio station. The ADL put out the word that nobody better make an offer. [Consequently], Liberty Lobby had to declare bankruptcy for Sun Station.[32]

Still more battles would be waged between Carto and the ADL. Shortly after the 1980 electoral victory of Ronald Reagan, the new secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, Richard Schweiker, nominated Warren Richardson to serve as an assistant secretary under him.[33] Richardson had served as general legal counsel for Liberty Lobby from 1969 through 1973.[34] When word of his affiliation with Carto was made public, his nomination was quickly withdrawn. Born in Rochester, New York, in 1924, Richardson had served during World War II as a naval aviator. In 1954, he received a law degree from the Catholic University in Washington, D.C.[35] Richardson claimed that his work for Liberty Lobby did not involve any ideological commitment. However, in 1970, a popular magazine of that time—*True for Today's Man*—carried an article that consisted of an interview with Board of Policy members Richardson and Curtis B. Dall, in which the two outlined the philosophy of Liberty Lobby. In the article, Dall wove the Illuminati, Fabians, Zionists, international bankers, the United Nations, the Ford Foundation, Communists, and the Federal Reserve in an intricate conspiracy to forge a one-world government.[36] The ADL later claimed that the fact that Richardson did not object to Dall's various assertions amounted to evidence of his extremist worldview, which should preclude him from attaining a position of authority in the federal bureaucracy. While Richardson's nomination was eventually withdrawn, the controversy surrounding it brought national attention to Liberty Lobby.[37]

Not stopping there, the ADL sought to limit the exposure of Carto in the mainstream media. For example, in 1994 the publication, *Marquis Who's Who*, included a biographical entry of Carto; but after protests from the ADL, Marquis decided to remove Carto's entry in subsequent publications.[38]

For its part, Liberty Lobby has occasionally released publications "exposing" the machinations of the ADL, and it once published an exposé of Irwin Suall that detailed his past history of leftist activism, including his participation in the Labor Club of Oxford University and the Jewish Labor Committee before he became the chief fact-finder of the ADL.[39] Another Liberty Lobby tract, titled "White Paper on the ADL: An official report," presented a critical history of the Jewish defense organization. Accusing the ADL of hypocrisy, Liberty Lobby argued that it pursued a dual strategy of fostering Jewish pride while, at the same time, breaking down the cohesion of the white population in America. To illustrate this assertion, it was pointed out that the ADL supported incongruous policies that supported a Jewish "monoculture" in Israel, yet favored policies toward pluralism in the United States. What is more, in order to discredit its opponents, Liberty Lobby asserted that the ADL used an expansive definition of anti-Semitism, which included reasonable and legitimate criticism of Israel. To rectify this perceived injustice, Liberty Lobby called for the ADL to register as an agent of a foreign country, Israel, in that it lobbied vigorously on behalf of that nation. Furthermore, Liberty Lobby suggested that the ADL was complicit with the terrorist group, the Jewish Defense League.[40]

Other so-called watchdog groups beside the ADL have also sought to counter the far right in America, most notably, the Southern Poverty Law Center, the American Jewish Committee, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. However, the ADL is generally recognized as the most effective nongovernmental organization in this area.[41] Inasmuch as Willis Carto has fought several pitched battles with the ADL, it is not surprising that he would identify this particular watchdog organization as his most formidable opponent:

> Oh, I suppose the ADL is the most prominent [watchdog group]. They have regional offices all over the country. The ADL has a library, a database on me and they've been inspiring many, many people to be confused and hateful toward me. And really, the people don't know anything about the issues . . . . They demonize me just to get people misled who don't want to look behind this hater . . . . This is why we don't have a bigger circulation for *Spotlight*. The *Spotlight* is referred to by the ADL over and over and over again as the most anti-Semitic paper in the country. You know, I'm the biggest anti-Semite in the country . . . . [T]hey can raise a lot of money on me. Morris Dees [the founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center] and the Anti-Defamation League, believe me, have raised a lot more money demonizing me than I ever raised for Liberty Lobby . . . . They smear me so nobody will pay any attention to me.[42]

Several of the watchdog groups maintain close working relationships with law enforcement agencies, most notably, the FBI. Essentially the government's response to domestic right-wing extremism is a joint effort by government and various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). What is more, these NGOs have persuaded the government to respond vigilantly to manifestations of right-wing extremism. Fortunately for Carto, he has managed to avoid serious entanglements with the government, although it has taken notice of Liberty Lobby on past occasions. For example, declassified FBI files indicate that the agency conducted an extensive investigation of the National Youth Alliance. And, in 1984, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms conducted an "Extremism and Terrorism School" in Missouri at which it released a manual. The appendix included a list entitled "Paramilitary Groups Nationwide," which mentioned Liberty Lobby. Such a designation was a bit absurd, considering Liberty Lobby's largely geriatric following.[43]

Although Carto has avoided government repression, one of his staffers was not as fortunate. In a bizarre incident that occurred on August 15, 2006, Christopher Bollyn, a writer for Carto's newspaper, *American Free Press*, was arrested and later released by a tactical law enforcement unit at his home in Hoffman Estates, Illinois. During the arrest, the police tackled Bollyn and used a high-voltage "taser" stun gun to subdue him in front of his wife and daughter. Bollyn was charged with resisting arrest and aggravated assault, but the authorities gave no explanation as to why police entered Bollyn's residence in the first place. Another *American Free Press* reporter, Michael Collins Piper, conjectured that the ADL instigated the arrest in light of the organization's previous close-working relationships with law enforcement agencies in the area.[44] For his part, Bollyn believed that the Department of Homeland Security, under the leadership of its Secretary, Michael Chertoff, had a hand in the arrest, since Bollyn had written several articles that were critical of him.[45] At first, *American Free Press* supported Bollyn and raised money for his defense, but the story later took an odd twist, as the newspaper issued a statement announcing that the editorial board had dismissed Bollyn because he had made pubic statements claiming that the newspaper had been infiltrated and controlled by "Zionists."[46]

Besides monitoring groups, Carto has also faced occasional opposition from the mainstream media.

Opposition from the Media

Although Carto shuns the mainstream media, they have on occasion taken notice of him. For instance, the prominent journalist Drew Pearson, who maintained close ties with the ADL, wrote a critical article of Carto in 1966. In it, Pearson published an excerpt from a letter that Carto had written to an acquaintance, Norris Holt.[47] The letter was discovered by Jeremy Horne, who worked for Carto, but was in fact an undercover mole. It read in part:

> Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And of America. How could we have been so blind? The blame, it seems, must be laid at the door of the international Jews. It was their propaganda, lies and demands which blinded the West to what Germany was doing . . . . If Satan himself, with all of the superhuman genius and diabolical ingenuity at his command, had tried to create a permanent disintegration and force for the destruction of the nations, he could have done no better than to invent the Jews.[48]

In 1964, Board of Policy member Curtis B. Dall filed a $4.4 million libel suit against Drew Pearson, Jack Anderson, and the *Washington Post*.[49] However, the suit was ultimately dismissed.

The respectable conservative press was critical of Carto as well. At first, *Right* actually heralded William F. Buckley's *National Review* when it was launched in 1955.[50] Despite Buckley's increasing moderation, for many years Liberty Lobby withheld public criticism of him. But finally, in 1968, Liberty Lobby fulminated against Buckley in the opinion section of *American Mercury*. The publisher was described as a "bottomless fount of esoteric polysyllabicism who began 13 years ago with *National Review* searching for the conservative dollar and searching for the secured status of the approved right-wing of the left."[51] The *National Review* finally responded on September 10, 1971, with a blistering cover story that attacked Carto. Adorned on the cover was a caricature of Carto with a sinister grin and holding an Uncle Sam mask, thus giving readers the impression that he sought to hide his extremism behind a patriotic façade. The exposé by C. H. Simonds, titled "The Strange Story of Willis Carto, his fronts, his friends, his philosophy, his Lobby for Patriotism," depicted Carto as a shadowy figure whose fascistic ideology was fundamentally hostile to the American tradition.[52]

The feud did not end there. In 1972, a group affiliated with Liberty Lobby, the Youth Action Group, added Buckley to its list of twelve bankers, intellectuals, and politicians that should be indicted for war crimes in 1971. Other figures on the list included Walter Rostow, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Henry Kissinger, David Rockefeller, and Daniel Ellsberg. They were accused of "conspiring to engage in no-win wars in order to amass vast profits, and create dissension, discord, and anomie within the American people." In addition, they were accused of treason for failing to mobilize the American people behind the war in Vietnam and conspiracy to involve the United States with the "bandit state" of Israel.[53]

In 1979, Liberty Lobby sued Buckley for libel, but the suit was later dismissed. However, Buckley's countersuit remained active and came to trial in 1985.- A federal district court judge dismissed one count of libel against Liberty Lobby and refused to award damages for two other counts that the judge had previously ruled were libelous to the *National Review*.[54] On a fourth count, the jury awarded a $1,001 award to the *National Review*, which was far less than the $16 million for which Buckley had petitioned.[55]

Still other suits would follow. Liberty Lobby had to fend off a libel suit by former Watergate operative, E. Howard Hunt, who claimed that an article written by a former CIA intelligence officer, Victor Marchetti, which was published in 1978 in the *Spotlight*, contained false and libelous information. The article alleged that the CIA was involved in the JFK assassination. Hunt was supposed to have been the CIA's liaison to anti-Castro Cuban exiles during the early 1960s. Eventually, in 1987, a three-judge panel on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit turned down Hunt's appeal. Liberty Lobby heralded the decision as a great victory.[56] According to the *Spotlight*, on February 6, 1985, a jury in Miami concluded that the CIA was involved in the assassination.[57]

Several magazines carried critical articles on Carto. For example, in September 1981 the liberal magazine, the *New Republic*, carried a critical story of Liberty Lobby and linked it to the Institute for Historical Review. The article exposed the anti-Zionist orientation of the Lobby behind its conservative façade. Still other critics included R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr., the editor-in-chief of the *American Spectator*, who once disparaged Liberty Lobby as a "colorful collection of bigots and simpletons" who apply conspiracy theories to explain all of the problems that face the public.[58] In 1995, *Extra!*, the organ of Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), carried a critical article on Liberty Lobby, expounding on the purported connections between the organization and Timothy McVeigh as well as some of Carto's other projects, including the Institute for Historical Review and Radio Free America.[59] That same year, *Soldier of Fortune* magazine published a short, unfavorable article on the *Spotlight*, which it ridiculed as "good bird-cage liner."[60]

At times, Carto has been very sensitive to criticism. In 1985, Frank Mintz published a reasonably balanced academic book titled *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right: Race, Conspiracy and Culture*, which seemingly endeavored to present Carto's organization in an objective fashion. Not satisfied, Liberty Lobby issued a pamphlet written by Paul Grubach that took issue with Mintz's study, arguing that numerous fallacies were to be found in the book. For instance, the pamphlet argued that, just because Liberty Lobby may have admired certain aspects of the Third Reich, it did not necessarily follow that the organization was anti-democratic. Moreover, Grubach protested that the term "anti-Semitic" was bandied about too loosely, suggesting that it was a way to discredit legitimate criticism of certain aspects of Zionism, Israel, and collective Jewish behavior. Similarly, Grubach argued that Mintz's use of the term "racism" was really an effort to discredit legitimate efforts to promote the group interests of European-Americans. According to Grubach, despite the seemingly detached, objective tone of Mintz's book, his scholarship "ultimately reflects and serves the sociopolitical interests of the Jewish political and cultural establishment."[61]

On several occasions, Carto sued journalists for slander, but usually he has been unsuccessful. In 1986, Liberty Lobby, led by attorneys Mark Lane and Brent Whitmore Williams, pursued a libel suit against the journalist Jack Anderson.[62] According to Liberty Lobby, Anderson presented a libelous story of the organization that appeared in his *Investigator* magazine in 1981.[63] Eventually, the case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Unfortunately for Carto, however, the Court dismissed his suit. That same year, Carto brought another libel suit against John Rees and *Information Digest*, a Washington, D.C., bimonthly publication. Inasmuch as Liberty Lobby was a "public figure" and the articles characterizing the organization as "anti-Semitic" were not made with malicious intent, the court ruled against Carto. In 1988, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District Court of Columbia upheld a ruling that dismissed a suit that Liberty Lobby had brought against the writer Suzanne Garment, who had described Liberty Lobby as "anti-Semitic" in an article that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*. The appeals court judge, Robert H. Bork, ruled that the term "anti-Semitic" applied aptly to Liberty Lobby, commenting that "We tend to agree with the district court that if the term 'anti-Semitic' has a core, factual meaning, then the truth of the description was proved here."[64] Bork once opined that "discussion of the Liberty Lobby is expensive. However well-documented a story, however unimpeachable a reporter's source, he or she will have to think twice about publishing where litigation, even to a successful motion for summary judgment, can be very expensive if not crippling."[65]

That Carto and Liberty Lobby could survive such adversity over the years is testament to Carto's tenacity and organizational acumen. One particular project on which Carto has expended much energy—and which has also provoked fierce opposition—is Holocaust revisionism, which is the subject of the next chapter.

12

The Institute for Historical Review

The Origins of Holocaust Revisionism

Perhaps more than any other organization, Liberty Lobby has sought to overcome the stigma attached to extreme right politics in the aftermath of the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II. One of the major obstacles that the far right has faced in the postwar era has been the legacy of the Holocaust. The enormity of this event did much to stigmatize postwar fascism and discredit anti-Semitism. Over the past few decades, the Holocaust has been widely regarded as a singular occurrence, unique from other historical events. While historians concede that more people perished in Stalin's gulags or Mao's Great Cultural Revolution, the methodical way in which the Holocaust was prosecuted exemplified what Hanna Arendt referred to as the "banality of evil." What's more, the sheer quantity of physical evidence and eyewitness accounts would seem to have made the historical occurrence of the Holocaust beyond dispute

However, various intellectual tendencies that emerged in the 1960s created an atmosphere in which nearly every verity—no matter how seemingly true—could be challenged. This intellectual atmosphere encouraged skepticism and posited that there are two sides to every story. Nothing in history is off limits to skeptical inquiry. Seen in this light, Holocaust revisionism is in some ways the far right's answer to deconstruction.[1]

According to Holocaust scholar Deborah Lipstadt, Holocaust revisionism is an attempt by the extreme right to rehabilitate the historical legacy of the Third Reich, and by doing so, to make postwar fascism more palatable to the public. Although that assessment may be somewhat oversimplified, due to the various ideological tendencies within the revisionist movement, there remains a good deal of truth to that assertion.[2] Historical revisionism is important to the far right for another reason as well. For many in this movement, World War II was a monumental watershed in the course of Western history. As they see it, the general direction of cultural and political events in Europe and America during the past sixty or so years was set in motion during the war. Furthermore, they believe that this direction has represented a drastic turn for the worse. In short, for many on the far right, the war was a tragic fratricidal conflict between the various peoples of the West. Therefore, they feel that the war and its consequences must be critically reexamined.[3]

Holocaust revisionism began shortly after World War II. During the 1950s, two arguments were advanced to dispute German responsibility for World War II. First, it was pointed out that "World Jewry" had declared war on Germany in 1933. In that sense, the Nazis were simply reacting to this perceived threat. Second, revisionists argue that, fearing the growing military and industrial power of Germany, the Allied nations had conspired against that country by supporting Poland, thus triggering the war in Europe.[4]

The first notable Holocaust revisionist was a Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, who was active in Communist and Socialist political parties, as well as the anti-Nazi resistance. During the war, he helped smuggle Jews into Switzerland, an activity for which he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and sent to the Dachau concentration camp.[5] After the war, he entered the French parliament and was decorated for his wartime service against the Nazis.[6]

Nonetheless, as a professor of literature at the University of Lyon in 1949, Rassinier wrote a book, *Crossing the Line,* in which he claimed that the atrocities in the camps had been greatly exaggerated. Instead of implicating Nazi guards, he blamed *kapos*—Jewish inmates entrusted to oversee fellow prisoners—for many of the worst atrocities.[7] In 1964, Rassinier wrote another book, *The Drama of European Jews,* in which he argued that the generally accepted number of Jewish deaths in the Holocaust had been substantially inflated. He claimed that most Jews had survived and were either still living in Europe or had emigrated elsewhere, most notably, Israel and the United States.[8] In 1978, he followed this study with still another book, *Debunking the Holocaust Myth.*

Several other books and tracts on Holocaust revisionism were published during the 1960s and 70s, including Franz Scheidl's *History of the Ostracism of Germany* in 1967; Emil Aretz's *Auschwitz Lie* in 1973; Wilhelm Stälich's *Auschwitz Myth* in 1973; and Richard Harwood's *Did Six Million Really Die?* in 1974. Almost immediately, Carto took notice of this contrarian genre of historiography and its potential to further his own political goals.

Carto has given very high priority to historical revisionism, and he has written numerous articles and presented numerous speeches on the topic. Even back in the early days of *Right,* Carto promoted books sympathetic to the Third Reich, such as *Prisoner of Peace,* which was a collection of letters between Nazi leader Rudolf Hess and his wife.[9] His first venture in Holocaust denial came in 1969, when his Noontide Press anonymously published David Hoggan's *Myth of the Six Million.*[10] The volume included an introduction by "E. L. Anderson" (a pseudonym for Carto), and an appendix that contained five articles that had originally appeared in Carto's *American Mercury* magazine in 1967 and 1968. Hoggan's scholarship had a significant impact on Harry Elmer Barnes, who was a leading figure in Holocaust revisionism, and who had a substantial influence on Carto.[11] Barnes was the bridge between the original revisionists, who emerged after World War I to question the sole culpability of Germany for starting the conflict, and the revisionists that emerged after World War II, who questioned the generally accepted historical version of the Holocaust. In 1969, Hoggan actually sued Noontide Press for damages, claiming authorship of the book (Noontide had published the book without crediting Hogan). Several years later, though, Hoggan would go on to collaborate with Carto.

Another significant figure in the Holocaust revisionism that Carto promoted was the German-American academic Dr. Austin App, who published *The Six Million Swindle*. App charged that the government of Israel had used the "inflated" figure of six million deaths in order to extort reparations from the West German government. Essentially, App both minimized the magnitude of the Jewish Holocaust and relativized it by comparing it to Allied wartime atrocities against Germans. Furthermore, App argued that the Holocaust was exploited by Jewish interests to further a political agenda.

App was born in Milwaukee in 1902 to immigrant parents from the southern German regions of Bavaria and Württemburg. He attended Catholic University in Washington, D.C., where he obtained M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in English literature. App remained a devout Catholic throughout his life. In the years leading up to World War II, he engaged in a noninterventionist letter-writing campaign.[12] In 1942, he served a brief stint in the U.S. Army but was released shortly after induction for unknown reasons. Later, he joined the faculty at LaSalle University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he remained for the duration of his academic career.[13] After the war, App wrote several books and tracts against the treatment of the defeated Germans, including *Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe* (1946) and *History's Most Terrifying Peace* (1947). He castigated the Morgenthau Plan as a quintessentially Talmudic scheme for revenge. App stopped short of white supremacism; in fact his writings sometimes espoused racial tolerance. Nonetheless, his writings, because of their criticisms of Jews and sympathy for Nazi Germany, found an audience in the far right.[14] In *The Curse of Anti-Anti-Semitism*, App emphasized Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and criticized Jews for attempting to affix the blame on the Romans.[15] During the early 1970s, he was an advisor to Carto's National Youth Alliance. In Germany, App cultivated ties with rightist organizations, including the National Democratic Party and the *National Zeitung*.[16] In the United States, he was active in several German-American organizations, including the Philadelphia branch of the Von Steuben Society (which he once chaired) and the smaller Federation of German Americans. He also belonged to the German American National Congress, which was known by its German acronym, DANK.[17] In addition, App served as the chairman of an anti-Communist organization, the Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia. Later, he participated in the International Committee for the Defense of Christian Culture.[18]

The above contributions to the corpus of Holocaust revisionism notwithstanding, the movement did not really attain widespread notoriety and academic coherence until an engineering professor at Northwestern University, Arthur Butz, published *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* in 1976. First published in England, the book is widely considered to be the definitive work of Holocaust denial. Adding to the body of revisionist literature, the Noontide Press anonymously published William Grimstad's *The Six Million Reconsidered* in 1977. Grimstad would later be active in David Duke's National Association for the Advancement of White People.[19]

Out of these various studies came the three pillars of Holocaust revisionism, that is, no gas chambers, no six million killed, and no master plan for genocide.[20] Although revisionists usually concede that a sizable number of Jews perished in Europe during World War II, they maintain that there was no German program to systematically exterminate the Jews. Rather, they argue that Jewish fatalities were more often the result of privations of war, including disease, malnutrition, and exposure. Revisionists are adamant that no gas chambers operated at the numerous concentration camps administered by the Nazi regime. They do concede, however, that Jews died as a result of atrocities committed by the *Einsatzgruppen*. Yet, they add that these were usually anti-Nazi partisans, or that they were executed in reprisals arising out of partisan operations against German soldiers. The revisionists maintain that, rather than pursuing a policy of systematic genocide, Nazi leaders preferred a policy of deportation and emigration of Jews from Europe. Seeking to relativize the tragedy, revisionists are quick to point out that Allied forces committed atrocities as well, some of the most egregious of which occurred after German armed forces capitulated in May 1945.

According to Carto, World War II was a turning point in the history of the West, the consequences of which are still being felt to this day. Although the United States experienced an unconditional military victory, Carto concludes that the country suffered what amounted to an unconditional political defeat.[21] Indicative of where his sympathies lie, he once described fascism and National Socialism as movements that were deliberately created to serve the interests of the "property-owning, tax-paying middle class," which sought to protect their nations from "the twin-pronged international threat of communism and plutocracy."[22]

Over the years, a disparate collection of right-wing extremists, Germanophiles, anti-Zionists, and radical skeptics have come to comprise what could be called the Holocaust revisionist movement, yet for a long while it had no real institutional framework. That changed in 1978, when Carto, founded the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). Although various Holocaust revisionists may deny their affiliation to or support for extremism, the fact remains that it was Carto, a scion of the far right, who gave the movement a sound organizational basis. Prior to 1978, revisionists were active in different countries, including France, Germany, Sweden, England, and the United States. It was the Institute for Historical Review, however, that created an international institutional basis that the movement previously lacked. Through its publication, the *Journal of Historical Review*, and its annual conferences, the IHR provided forums at which revisionists could network and share their controversial research. The IHR has been characterized by supporters and detractors alike as the number-one international force for Holocaust revisionism.[23]

The Institute for Historical Review

Carto founded the IHR in 1978 and the organization held its first conference the next year. Its first headquarters was located in Torrance, California, just south of Los Angeles. Although Carto provided the seed money for the organization, he preferred to stay behind the scenes and let other figures serve as its public representatives. David McCalden, under the *nom de guerre* "Lewis Brandon," became the IHR's first director. He also served as the office manager for Noontide Press. A graduate of the University of London, McCalden was active in English right-wing extremist groups, including the British National Front, prior to his arrival in the United States.[24] Other founding members included James Martin, an academic from Colorado Springs, David Hoggan, and Roger Pearson.[25]

For many years, the IHR was the main purveyor of Holocaust revisionist material, as many of its publications are offered for sale in far right book catalogs. The IHR published a periodical, the *Journal of Historical Review*, which evolved from Carto's *American Mercury*. The journal has the trappings of scholarship, including articles with footnotes and a board of editors. At one time, eighteen of the twenty-five editorial advisory committee members listed on the *Journal of Historical Review* held doctorate degrees.[26]

According to Carto, the IHR grew out of a discussion he had had in 1978 with a number of intellectuals, who were concerned about the historiography promoted by "establishment historians." As Carto saw it, Allied propaganda against Germany, which commenced during World War I, had essentially continued unabated ever since. He is often fond of quoting Henry Ford's dictum, "history is bunk," which Carto interprets to mean that history is controlled by the establishment. In historical revisionism, Carto found a worthwhile endeavor to correct what he believes is the manipulation of history for political purposes. To Carto, history, as it is currently presented by mainstream historians, has been used to enslave the people of the West. To correct this situation, Carto has proclaimed that history must be brought "into accord with the facts." As he once put it, [t]he purpose of history . . . is to uncover the forces which move the pawns on the chess board of the world."[27] For Carto, history is no trivial issue, since it can be used for sinister purposes, as he explained to me in an interview:

> Let me define my notion of Historical revisionism. It is an effort to bring history into accord with the facts. We look at the great historical revisionism, or at least we descend from that which was developed by Harry Elmer Barnes and the American and British historians after the First World War in regard to the war guilt and after the Second World War, while they continued it. And they wrote many, many books, pamphlets, articles, and so on and so forth.
>
> I think people are generally aware of this story of Germans [during World War I] throwing babies in the air and catching them with their bayonets. And cutting their arms off. After the war people learned that that was a big lie. But during the war people believed it. And this is what the politicians and the top criminal oligarchy want. They want people to believe their lies, because they like war. War is very profitable.
>
> The Jews literally declared war against Hitler, four or five days after he was elected (*sic*) chancellor. [German President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor on January 30, 1933, in a constitutionally legal move.] The lies that have been told about Hitler are just absolutely beyond the scope of anything that has been told about anybody else in world history. And of course they are absolutely believed by the American Historical Society and all of the other professional historians. They believe all this wartime propaganda about Hitler. No one ever thinks that there may be two sides to the question . . . .
>
> I tried to bring a little light into history . . . . And that's why I started the IHR . . . . The Holocaust is history. Anybody, except a very biased person, realizes that there are two sides to every question. And the historical revisionists . . . have a perfect, moral, and legal right to give the other side to this question. There has been so much done in the past twenty years on this . . . . You see the Jews don't want to debate this. You can't find anybody to debate them . . . .

> If I didn't do it, I don't know who else would have done it. But I'm very proud of what I did with the Institute of Historical Review.[28]

It is worth mentioning that Carto has personally known several of Hitler's most prominent soldiers. When he showed me his library, I noticed prominently displayed autographed pictures of Leon Degrelle, Hans Ulrich Rudel, and Otto Skorzeny. Rudel was an acclaimed Stuka (dive-bomber) pilot, who flew in air battles primarily on the Eastern front. He was credited with destroying 519 tanks, 150 gun emplacements, 800 combat vehicles, and one Soviet battleship. For his battle exploits he was awarded eleven decorations, including a new medal specially designed by Hitler—the Knight's Cross with Golden Oak Leaves, Swords, and Diamonds. Carto later published his wartime memoirs.[29]

Another close Nazi associate of Willis Carto's was Leon Degrelle. In the postwar neofascist international movement, Degrelle was an iconic figure. In Belgium, during the interwar years, he was the leader of the fascistic Rexist movement. During World War II, Degrelle organized a Waffen-SS Division—"the Wallonian Legion"—which was composed primarily of French-speaking Belgian volunteers. The division was involved in numerous ferocious battles on the Eastern front. For his valor, Degrelle became the most highly decorated foreigner in service of the Third Reich. When Hitler bestowed a prestigious medal on Degrelle—the Knight's Cross with oak leaves—the German führer was quoted as saying "If I had had a son . . . I would want him to be like you."[30] After receiving asylum in Franco's Spain at the end of the war, Degrelle remained unrepentant and wrote several books on his wartime exploits and hagiographic accounts of Hitler, which were published by Carto.[31] He also contributed several articles to Carto's journal, the *Barnes Review*. Through his exploits in the Waffen-SS, Degrelle came to embody the "pan-Aryan" orientation idealized by the contemporary extreme right. As the scholars Jeffrey Kaplan and Leonard Weinberg have observed, in the postwar era the Waffen-SS has taken on a particular subcultural meaning within the movement, namely, it has been used as a symbol of a common bond among activists who endeavor to develop a new pan-Aryan identity, based on race and civilization, that transcends national borders.[32]

Otto Skorzeny was Hitler's commando extraordinaire. His most celebrated exploit was the 1943 rescue mission of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, who had been detained by the Italian government not long after the Allied invasion of the Italian peninsula. After the war, Skorzeny was instrumental in the creation of *Die Spinne* and ODESSA—organizations that sought to protect former SS officers and high-ranking Nazi officials throughout the world. Skorzeny also assisted Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser in developing his security services.[33] Several years later, he counseled the leaders of a Spanish neo-Nazi organization known as CEDADE (Circulo Español de Amigos de Europa), which was allied with Liberty Lobby.[34] Carto showed me a photo of him and his wife together with Skorzeny on a rooftop of a building somewhere in Madrid.

Another wartime fascist figure with whom Carto consorted was Florrie Rost van Tonningen, who was the widow of the late Meinoudt Rost van Tonningen, the deputy leader of the Dutch Nazi Party. In 1945, her husband committed suicide rather than face trial for treason.[35] One of Carto's journals—the *Barnes Review*—carried an article by her in which she defended her late husband, describing him as a committed National Socialist who had his country's best interests at heart. She also recounted fondly their meetings with Adolf Hitler.[36] The 1987 IHR conference included still another wartime Nazi figure: the "mystery guest" Otto Remer, a German Wehrmacht veteran, who was responsible for quashing the attempted coup d'état against Hitler in July 1944.[37]

Many prominent revisionist historians and activists have spoken at IHR conferences. David Irving is probably the most sophisticated of the so-called revisionist historians whose books, although controversial, have received critical attention.[38] Although he holds no university degree, Irving is recognized as a formidable World War II historian. His more notable books include *Hitler's War*, *Churchill's War*, *Goring*, *The Desert Fox*, and *The Destruction of Dresden*. Irving is unique in that he is really the only so-called revisionist historian who has had his books sold in mainstream bookstores. Moreover, his books have even been used in military academies and senior officer schools, such as the various war colleges. However, Irving has been widely and consistently criticized for his sympathy for the Third Reich and his animosity toward Jews, to whom he occasionally refers as the "traditional enemy." In late 2005, Irving found himself in legal trouble. While visiting a friend in Austria, he was arrested by authorities on charges of denying the Holocaust, stemming from comments that he had made in 1989. Carto's publications, including *American Free Press* and the *Barnes Review*, sought to raise awareness of his legal ordeal.[39] Jailed for over a year, Irving was released in December 2006 with the proviso that he leave Austria.

From a "scientific" standpoint, the most highly regarded researcher in the revisionist movement is Fred Leuchter, a self-described "execution specialist," who claims the credentials of an engineer, but holds no degree in the field.[40] Leuchter authored the infamous *Leuchter Report*, which postulated that there was no forensic evidence to support the assertion that lethal gas chambers operated at the Auschwitz concentration camp during World War II.[41] His report had a profound impact on David Irving. Indeed, when Irving was called in 1988 as an expert witness at the Toronto trial of Ernst Zündel (a revisionist who was prosecuted under various Canadian "hate speech" laws), he claimed that, as a result of Leuchter's *Report*, he no longer believed in the existence of gas chambers at German concentration camps during World War II. Adding his imprimatur to this controversial document, Irving actually wrote a foreword to Leuchter's *Report*.[42] What is more, the publisher of several of Irving's books—Focal Point Publications—published Leuchter's report as well.

Some other people who have appeared at IHR conferences include the Civil War historian, William B. Hesseltine; the China authority, Anthony B. Kubek; the former CIA agent, Victor Marchetti; and the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, John Toland.[43] Although Toland is not a Holocaust denier, he appeared at the 1990 IHR Conference. The IHR staff hailed his presence at the event as a "milestone." Toland explained that his quest for objectivity in telling the history of World War II led him to seek the other side of the story as told by the revisionists.[44]

Through the IHR, Carto established contacts with numerous other overseas rightists. In Germany, Friedhelm Büsse and Udo Walendy have both had close connections with the *Journal of Historical Review*.[45] Walendy, a German who, as a young man, grew up in the early postwar period, contributes frequently to the *Barnes Review*.[46] Roy Armstrong, an American who has spent many years active in the German far right, has been a close associate as well.

It was not long before the IHR generated a considerable amount of controversy, provoking fierce opposition. First, on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1980, Willis Carto's home in California was vandalized. Next, in January and March 1981, Jewish Defense League (JDL) demonstrators picketed Carto's home. Soon after, on June 25, 1981, the IHR office was firebombed in the middle of the night. An incendiary device burned the carpet and some furniture. Still other firebombings followed on April 25 and September 5, 1982. The most serous attack occurred on July 4, 1984, when a fire destroyed the IHR's offices in Torrence, California. Over 90 percent of the book and tape inventory was destroyed. In all, the fire resulted in $400,000 in damages.[47] The case was never officially solved, but the IHR suspected that the JDL was responsible. The JDL had organized many demonstrations around the building, and the organization's leader, Irv Rubin, praised the arson attack at a press conference, but denied responsibility. The IHR later published a report, the *Zionist Terror Network*, which accused the JDL of responsibility for the attack.[48]

In addition to attacks from without, serious divisions developed within the IHR as well. In April 1981, Carto fired McCalden after they became involved in a feud stemming from a lawsuit filed by a Holocaust survivor, Mel Mermelstein. Soon thereafter, Tom Marcellus took over as IHR director, and Keith Stimely became the editor of the *Journal of Historical Review*.[49]

The Mel Mermelstein Affair

In 1981, the IHR became embroiled in a costly civil suit with Mel Mermelstein, a Jewish businessman from California, who had emigrated from Czechoslovakia. During World War II, Mermelstein had been interned in both the Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps. After the war, Mermelstein was active in the American Jewish community, promoting Holocaust causes and establishing a tax-exempt foundation that sponsored a traveling Holocaust museum.[50] He was also the author of a self-published autobiography titled *By Bread Alone*.[51]

According to McCalden, Carto had given him the name of a Hollywood publicist, with whom McCalden explored ways in which the IHR could break out of the media blackout that had been imposed on it in its early stages. The publicist suggested that the IHR should sponsor a contest—with a sizeable reward—as a way of generating publicity for the organization. McCalden broached the topic with Carto, and the latter "thought it was a splendid idea."[52]

Thus, during its first annual conference, held in 1979, the IHR offered a $50,000 reward to anyone who could offer proof that Jews had been gassed at Auschwitz.[53] By July 31, 1980, there had been no claimants for the offer, and the IHR staff decided to close the contest. Then it offered a new $25,000 reward to anyone who could prove the authenticity of Anne Frank's diary. Still another "second prize" offer of $25,000 was offered to anyone who could prove that soap had been made from Jews in concentration camps during World War II.[54] The famed Nazi hunter, Simon Wiesenthal, entered a claim for the offer on Anne Frank's diary, but failed to come to an agreement with the IHR over who would validate the authenticity of the diary. In the meantime, Mel Mermelstein submitted a claim for the original offer of $50,000 for proof of the operation of gas chambers at Auschwitz. A former detainee at the infamous concentration camp, Mermelstein claimed to have witnessed first hand the execution of Jews by gassing. Apparently, then IHR director, David McCalden, without authorization from the rest of the staff, reopened the offer just for Mermelstein.[55] On February 19, 1981, Mermelstein filed suit against the IHR in the Superior Court of the State of California for Los Angeles, claiming that the IHR had breached its contract, and additionally that it had libeled him, resulting in emotional distress.[56] Originally, Mermelstein asked for seventeen million dollars in damages. He later added Willis Carto as a defendant, claiming that Carto was the founder of the IHR and thus responsible for its actions.

According to a story in the *National Alliance Bulletin* (a far right newsletter published by Dr. William L. Pierce), Carto failed to support McCalden when Mel Mermelstein sued him. As McCalden explained, "I ran into Willis Carto's office with the papers in my hand, and I cried, 'Willis, Willis, look, we're being sued,'" to which Carto is reported to have quipped, "What do you mean, 'we?'" Fearing that he was being made into a fall guy, McCalden broke with Carto soon thereafter.[57] According to McCalden, he had wanted to phase out the older racist books and instead make Holocaust revisionism the principal focus of the Noontide Press.[58] After his break with Carto, McCalden founded a new revisionist outlet called "Truth Missions." Despite his departure, he continued to promote Holocaust revisionism and the IHR through two publications—*Holocaust News* and the *David McCalden Revisionist Newsletter*.[59] After his exit, the *Spotlight* carried articles critical of McCalden, describing his association with Allan Bullock, who had turned out to be an agent of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).[60] Allegedly, McCalden had colluded with Andrew Allen and Bullock to disrupt the IHR.[61] After leaving the IHR, McCalden returned to England and resumed his participation in British far right politics. In 1985, he was involved in the founding of the British National Party, which is presently the most significant far right party in England. He died in 1990 of AIDS.[62] According to Mark Weber, who later assumed the directorship of the IHR, McCalden, not Carto, had been the creative force behind the organization.[63]

Mermelstein's suit dragged on for several years. During the trial, the IHR sought to introduce evidence that would disprove the historicity of the Holocaust. However, on October 9, 1981, the Los Angeles Superior Court judge, Thomas T. Johnston, took "judicial notice" that Jews were gassed at the Auschwitz camp during the summer of 1944 and would not consider evidence arguments to the contrary.[64]

The IHR had difficulty maintaining lawyers in the case. Early on, Mark Von Esch represented the interests of Liberty Lobby, but eventually left the case and even paid a sum to Mermelstein, as he was eventually named as a defendant in a suit filed by the plaintiff.[65] Richard Fusilier left as well, and he was replaced in turn by G. G. Baumen. William Cox, who eventually left the case, represented Mermelstein. Soon thereafter, the high-profile California attorney, Gloria Allred, along with Michael Maroko, took over the case for Mermelstein.

Eventually the case became a *cause célèbre*, and a fictitious account of it served as the basis of an episode of the NBC television program *Quincy*, which starred Jack Klugman.[66] A television movie, *Never Forget*, starring

Leonard Nimoy and Dabney Coleman, was also based on the trial.[67] During his legal ordeal, Mermelstein received support from numerous high-level politicians and leaders in the Jewish community. Other prominent figures that assisted Mermelstein included Neal Sher of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (a department, created by an act of Congress in 1978, that investigates Nazi war criminals residing in the United States); Gerald Margolies, the director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center; Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH); House Representative Robert Drinan (D-MA); and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. President Ronald Reagan even wrote a letter of support to Mermelstein.[68] On September 24, 1985, Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) inserted comments praising the California court decision into the Congressional Record.[69]

In 1985, a California court ordered the IHR to pay Mermelstein the $50,000 the organization had offered, in addition to another $40,000 for pain and suffering associated with his legal ordeal.[70] Not satisfied with the outcome, Mermelstein argued that the IHR had libeled him, and he sued for damages of eleven million dollars. Fearing that it was losing both inside and outside the courtroom, the IHR decided that it would be best to settle rather than risk having a multimillion dollar judgment against the organization. Judge Robert L. Wenke advised that the defendants settle, and on July 19, 1985, the two parties reached a settlement in the amount of ninety thousand dollars.

Still other figures became ensnared in Mermelstein's suits. In 1981, Mermelstein filed suit against a Swedish associate of Carto, Dietlieb Culver Felderer, claiming that Felderer libeled him in the *Jewish Information Bulletin*. In January 1986, a Los Angeles Superior Court jury awarded $4.75 million in punitive damages and an additional $500,000 in compensatory damages to Mermelstein as a result of a defamatory article that had appeared in the *Bulletin*.[71] Earlier, in December 1982, Swedish authorities had prosecuted Felderer for defaming Jews. That case had been the first such prosecution undertaken in Sweden.[72]

Eventually, Carto decided to strike back. Thus, on August 6, 1986, he filed a suit against Mermelstein, claiming Mermelstein had defamed him and the IHR in an interview. A year and a half later, Carto voluntarily dismissed the suit.[73] In another round of litigation, Mermelstein sued for malicious prosecution, but eventually this suit was dismissed, as the judge found that there had been probable cause for Carto's defamation suit against Mermelstein.

Not to be deterred, on October 17, 1988, the litigious Mermelstein again filed suit against the IHR.[74] He claimed that the IHR and its parent company, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, in conjunction with Liberty Lobby and Willis Carto, had conspired to inflict emotional distress on him.[75] He further charged that he had been libeled. But before the trial for this suit, Judge Stephen O'Neil heard arguments concerning the decision to reaffirm the judicial notice that Jews had been gassed at the Auschwitz concentration camp. Judge O'Neil reaffirmed Judge Johnston's 1981 decision.

At the trial, counsel for the IHR included Mark Lane, a self-identified Jew, whose clients and affiliations range across the ideological spectrum. A member of the Democratic Party, Lane had managed John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign in New York in 1960. That same year, he was elected to the New York State Legislature, where he led a campaign to abolish capital punishment. Later, he was active in the civil rights movement and claims to have been the only public official arrested as a freedom rider. However, he later served as a lawyer for James Earl Ray, the alleged assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King. Lane also served as a lawyer for Jim Jones's People's Temple and managed to survive the Jonestown mass suicide/murder in Guyana in 1978 by escaping to a nearby jungle. He claims to have spent hours with the late chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, discussing ways in which to bring peace to the Middle East.[76] However, Lane is probably best known for his authorship of a book on the JFK assassination, titled *Plausible Denial*. By the 1980s, Lane increasingly gravitated toward Liberty Lobby and Carto. In a conversation with the author, Lane commented that he had known Carto for many years and the two were frequently guests at each other's homes. Over the course of their acquaintanceship, Lane said that he had never heard Carto make an anti-Semitic statement. Lane's co-counsel for the IHR was William Hulsy, a California lawyer.

To bolster his case, Mermelstein called Alan M. Schwartz, director of research for the Anti-Defamation League, as an expert witness. As part of the discovery process, in January 1991, Mark Lane deposed Schwartz on the information gathering activities of the ADL, which Lane suggested, included information secured from and funneled to both U.S. and Israeli intelligence agencies in contravention of various laws.[77] Judge Stephen Lachs, of the California State Superior Court for the County of Los Angeles, presided over the case. After sometimes cantankerous court proceedings, Judge Lachs finally dismissed the suit on September 19, 1991. Shortly thereafter, Mermelstein appealed. However, on October 28, 1992, the California Court of Appeal ruled in favor of the IHR and its co-defendants.[78]

After the trial, members of the IHR and Liberty Lobby held a victory celebration in Hulsy's hotel suite in Los Angeles. As the assembled guests toasted their victory and praised the efforts of attorneys Bill Hulsy and Mark Lane, Hulsy allegedly commented, "I'm so tired of hearing about how great Mark Lane is. How great a case Mark Lane presented. What about Bill Hulsy?" There was apparently silence and an atmosphere of tension as a result of Hulsy's remarks, after which Mark Lane and his wife Trish quietly excused themselves and left.[79] Originally, Ted O'Keefe was chosen to write the account of the Mermelstein trial from the perspective of the IHR. However, Michael Collins Piper eventually took over the project, and wrote a book called *Best Witness: The Mel Mermelstein Affair and the Triumph of Historical Revisionism*.

Mark Weber

In 1985, Keith Stimely had a falling out with Carto and resigned as editor of the *Journal of Historical Review*. Robert Berkel replaced him, but he too resigned after a dispute with Carto in 1988. In the early 1990s, Mark Weber assumed leadership over the IHR and the editorship of the *Journal of Historical Review*. Weber has been described (even by one of his critics) as highly intelligent and personable, and as being singularly focused on "exposing" the Holocaust for what he believes it is. Jews loom very large in his worldview: he sees them as a "unified threat of American and world culture."[80] A frequent theme in his writings is the inordinate power of Jews in the United States.[81] Weber was born in Portland, Oregon, but lived for much of his life in Nebraska. He holds a masters degree in history from Indiana University and is fluent in German.[82] He claims to have also studied and taught in Europe and West Africa. Prior to working for Carto, Weber served as news editor for the *National Vanguard*, a publication of William Pierce's National Alliance.[83] However, he later split with Pierce over "irreconcilable policy differences."[84] According to accusations made by Liberty Lobby member Vince Ryan, Weber once attempted to wrest control of the National Alliance away from Pierce.[85] Be that as it may, in later years, Pierce spoke highly of the IHR under the direction of Weber.[86]

While living in Washington, D.C., Weber carried out extensive research on the Holocaust.[87] A prolific freelance writer, he began his affiliation with the *Spotlight* when an issue of the paper carried a supplement titled "The Great Holocaust Debate," which included an article by Weber titled "Allies Used Torture to 'Prove' Jews Were Extermination Victims." By 1980, Weber had begun writing articles for the *Journal of Historical Review* and spoke at the IHR conference that same year, which was held at Pomona College in Claremont, California.[88] He has made numerous media appearances, including talk shows in which he has presented his case for Holocaust revisionism. Often his interlocutors are not prepared for his arguments, and thus he sometimes makes a seemingly impressive appearance.[89] Rejecting overtly racialist rhetoric, Weber has reached out to potential allies outside the West in an effort to build an international coalition of revisionists and sympathizers.

Reaching out to the Middle East

There would seem to be a meeting of the minds between the far right and some anti-Zionists. Revisionists assert that the Holocaust serves as the linchpin of the Israel lobby in the United States, without which support for the tiny Middle Eastern state would evaporate. In its antipathy toward Israel, the IHR has often interacted with Muslims and Arabs. For example, Mark Weber has been interviewed numerous times on Iranian state radio (IRIB: Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting).[90] Just prior to the founding of the IHR, the government of Saudi Arabia allegedly funded the Holocaust denier, William N. Grimstad, author of *The Six Million Reconsidered*.[91] On some occasions, Arabs have addressed IHR conferences, including Issah Nakleh, a Palestinian Christian, who was a longtime UN representative for the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine. Although a Christian, Nakleh was also a prominent member of the World Muslim Congress, a Pakistan-based organization, which was led by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem until his death in 1974.[92]

One notable effort of cooperation between these two groups was a scheduled conference on "Revisionism and Zionism," which was to be held in late March 2001 in Beirut, Lebanon. Although the event was cancelled at the last minute, it demonstrated a growing cooperation between Western revisionists and Islamic sympathizers. The Institute for Historical Review and the Swiss-based *Verité et Justice* had planned the conference, which was to include lectures in English, French, and Arabic. The Swiss organizer, Jürgen Graf, had recently fled to Iran—a country where other revisionists have received warm welcome—after his appeals of a 1998 Swiss conviction for hate speech violations had been denied. The scheduled event occasioned fierce opposition from Jewish defense watchdog groups. The Simon Wiesenthal Center (SWC) took the lead in a lobbying effort that also included the Anti-Defamation League and the World Jewish Congress, and which sought to put pressure on the Lebanese government to cancel the event. Previously, the SWC had implicated the IHR in an embarrassing exposé of the German far right underground.[93] The U.S. State Department applied pressure on the Lebanese government as well. After a cabinet meeting on the subject, Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hairi announced that the conference would be cancelled. Nonetheless, the conference was ultimately held, albeit in a scaled-down version, in Amman, Jordan.[94]

According to the ADL, Holocaust revisionism has gained increased currency in the media of several Middle East countries, including Egypt, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Qatar, and the Palestinian Authority.[95] The cross-fertilization of rhetoric between the two groups reached new heights in December 2005, when the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad dismissed the Holocaust as a "myth" that has been used as a pretext for the creation of a Jewish state in the heart of the Islamic world. A few weeks prior to this pronouncement, Ahmadinejad called for the destruction of Israel, commenting that the country should be "wiped off the face of the map."[96] Although Ahmadinejad's comments were condemned by officials in the West, they drew praise in some parts of the Muslim world. A spokesman of Hamas, Khaled Meshall, commended the Iranian president for his "courage" in speaking out on the Holocaust and called for a united front in support of Iran. Likewise, Mohammed Mehdi Akef, the leader of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, the largest opposition force in that country, echoed Ahmadinejad's comments that the Holocaust was a myth. For their part, representatives and organizations of the extreme right—including David Duke, the Institute for Historical Review, and the *Barnes Review*—expressed satisfaction that a head of state had publicly rejected the accepted version of the Holocaust. This meeting of the minds among disparate groups and individuals could presage some strange alliances in the future. By the spring of 2006, Carto's paper, *American Free Press*, was editorializing against a possible military strike against Iran.[97] Moreover, through the Pakistani embassy, Carto actually extended an invitation to Ahmadinejad to appear at the 2006 *Barnes Review* conference, but the Iranian president did not attend.

Not long after the conference, however, Ahmadinejad visited New York City, where he gave a speech before the United Nations General Assembly in September 2006, in which he defiantly castigated the Bush administration for its aggressive posture toward Iran and predicted that any military action against Iran would fail. After his speech, Ahmadinejad granted a press conference to various representatives of the alternative media. Among the guests was Michael Collins Piper, a journalist for Carto's current newspaper, *American Free Press*, and author of an underground book on the JFK assassination, *Final Judgment*, in which he postulates that the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, was the principle force behind a conspiracy to murder the late president.[98] More recently, Piper has written books accusing a neoconservative cabal of pushing the United States into various wars in the Middle East.[99] A personal friend of Piper, Iranian filmmaker Nader Talebzadeh, introduced him to Ahmadinejad, who actually invited Piper to be his personal guest in Iran.[100] Piper accepted the offer, and in December 2006 he participated in a panel discussion at the historic Holocaust conference held in Tehran, in which sixty-seven participants from thirty countries participated.[101] An important event, the Tehran conference could presage greater cooperation between the extreme right and militant Islam in the future.

Carto on Revisionism and the Holocaust

To Carto, Holocaust revisionism is essential to the struggle for white racial survival. He believes that accepted interpretations of the Holocaust must be surmounted if Western civilization is to continue as a distinct entity, as he writes in an essay titled "Why is 'The Holocaust' Important?" He argues that Holocaust symbolism has become so powerful that it presents an existential threat to the West:

> Exploiting the moral sensibility and the feeling of guilt which is always close to the surface of Christians, Americans are constantly reminded that Israel rose "from the ashes of 'The Holocaust'" (etc.) and that it is their moral responsibility to continue to ensure "Israel's survival." . . .
>
> Quite literally, and without exaggeration, "The Holocaust" is a religion . . . .
>
> "The Holocaust" is alive and growing, not dead and fading . . . . It impacts on every financial decision made by the government and on most decisions made by private parties. Like it or not, "The Holocaust" must be faced and questions must be asked . . . .
>
> . . . It is evident that the image of "The Holocaust" has radically distorted America in every significant way . . . .
>
> Without "The Holocaust" image there would be no state of Israel nor its burden on American taxpayers who would be some half a trillion dollars richer.
>
> Even more importantly, the United States would not be inextricably involved in affairs of the Mideast which do not concern us, nor would Moslems from Casablanca to Zamboanga hate us . . . .
>
> "The Holocaust" tends to atomize individuals by breaking up traditional loyalties, thus ripening the public to accept revolutionary changes they have not chosen nor do they understand. It cuts the age-old tethers of America and all peoples to their own traditions and history, their pride, their instinctive love for kind and country . . . .
>
> Finally, "The Holocaust" has perverted public philosophy and infected public morality by injecting a false standard . . . .
>
> . . . Such atrocities as "The Holocaust" may be expected from savage third worlders—even excused—but from highly cultured European Whites? The very people who have literally created the modern world? If so, then Western culture and the White race should be destroyed. Thus we hear the politically correct chant, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western culture has got to go" on American campuses . . . .
>
> We are facing literally an issue of survival.
>
> This is why All Americans should be concerned with "The Holocaust."
>
> Whether they like it or not.[102]

Inasmuch as the Holocaust and its implications loom so large in Carto's mind, I sought to question him more thoroughly on some specific details of the Holocaust:

> WILLIS CARTO: Certainly, no one denies that a lot of Jews were killed in the Second World War. But most stories are gross exaggerations. Jews were killed *en masse* on the Eastern Front by German soldiers and that's where the Holocaust happened. And the motivations are something else, but speaking generally in terms of the casualties and the killings during World War II, frankly, the Jews got off very lightly.
>
> GEORGE MICHAEL: When compared to say ethnic Germans in the eastern territories?
>
> WC: Compared to Germans, compared to Russians, compared to Ukrainians, compared to all of the nations in Europe, [which] had horrible casualties in large part because of Jewish interests. The question of who won the war can be debated. But we don't have to get into that.
>
> GM: Do you have any thoughts on the number of Jews that perished during the Second World War?
>
> WC: Well, for instance in Auschwitz, the figure of course was originally six million. Then four million. Then two million. And then the Poles [in 1990] brought it down 1.1 million, and since then it's been investigated and the actual death certificates, which were captured by the Soviet troops in Auschwitz and taken back to Moscow, showed that the actual number of deaths in Auschwitz from all causes, out of all people including old people that died of natural causes, people that died of Typhus, people that died of everything else is about seventy-three thousand.
>
> GM: You mention the fighting that took place in the East. Some of the so-called exterminationists, as they say in revisionist parlance, say, "well okay, perhaps that many did not perish in Auschwitz and Dachau, etc but there were ultimately 6 million Jews who died at the hands of the Einsatzgruppen or some other way outside of the camps." How do you counter those arguments?
>
> WC: Well, I think that the six million figure is really exaggerated. Just how many died at the hands of the Einsatzgruppen and German mili-

> tary forces is unknown. But, I'm sure it wouldn't be over one-hundred thousand that were shot. The Germans identified the Jews in general with Communism and the political leadership of the Soviet Union. So they did not give the Jews the benefit of the doubt on the Eastern Front during that time.
>
> The Germans and Americans, particularly the Germans, have been so utterly brainwashed since the first day they've gone to school. It is certainly the most sensitive question that can possibly be discussed or even considered. Whereas that's not true in the Middle East at all. It's not true in Mexico. It's not true in Latin America. It's just a different culture. You don't have the guilt complex.[103]

What began as Holocaust revisionism has expanded over the years to include many other topics, such as Allied atrocities during and after World War II, the defense of American isolationism and populism, and of course two of revisionism's main staples, criticism of Israel and Zionism. Thus, for lack of a better term, the movement is sometimes referred to as historical revisionism, although some mainstream historians may see that as a misuse of a legitimate term.

On occasion, Holocaust revisionism has influenced mainstream figures. For example, in a column written in 1990, Pat Buchanan speculated that Holocaust survivors might have been unreliable as eyewitnesses insofar as they were suffering from "group fantasies of martyrdom and heroics." Furthermore, he went on to suggest that perhaps gas chambers were not used to kill Jews.[104]

Although Holocaust revisionists do not appear to have had much success in revising mainstream historical views of the Holocaust, they have been able to generate substantial controversy and publicity. By pushing the envelope to the limit, they have forced Western governments to grapple with various free speech issues. This puts the various Jewish defense organizations in a dilemma. If they do nothing, they fear that the revisionists will trivialize the memory of the greatest tragedy in Jewish history. However, if they encourage authorities and forums to censor the revisionists, they risk falling into the trap of giving the revisionists unnecessary publicity. It appears that the revisionists are well aware of this. A content analysis of the *Journal of Historical Review* reveals that the most frequent theme it covered was not actual review of history, but rather how the revisionists were treated by the media, Jewish defense organizations, the government, and other critics.[105] The Holocaust revisionist movement has indeed occasioned fierce opposition from several quarters. In foreign countries, revisionists are often prosecuted under "hate speech" statutes and receive stiff penalties. The mainstream Jewish defense organizations have sought to keep revisionist publications out of circulation and dissuade institutions from providing them with speaking forums. Finally, revisionists have occasionally come under attack from vigilante style groups. The *Spotlight* and its successor, *American Free Press*, have frequently carried stories on developments in the Holocaust revisionist movement, depicting its activists as embattled champions of free speech.

Carto believes that surmounting the legacy of this tragedy is absolutely essential to the survival of the West. Ironically, however, there is some indication that in recent years the revisionist movement has found fertile ground in the Middle East, which is generally more amenable to critical studies of Jews and Zionism.[106] In order to ensure "white racial survival" in the United States, on the other hand, Carto has sought to promote an ideology of populism, which is the topic of chapter 13.

13

The Populist Worldview

When the term populism first entered the vernacular, it referred to a left-oriented farmers' movement of the late nineteenth century.[1] Although populism originally had a strong agrarian component, Carto believes that it is applicable to a modern industrial and technological society as well. Liberty Lobby has frequently been described as conservative, but Carto has often rejected that label, arguing that America is too far gone for a conservative message to have any effect. He sees little hope in restoring a constitutional government in America. Instead, he argues that the U.S. government has become the province of special interest groups. He cites the ascendancy of FDR to the presidency as the genesis of this development.[2] To counter this trend, Carto proposes that a populist mass movement will be necessary to take America back from globalist elites.

It is worth noting that the American conservative tradition has varied considerably from its counterpart in Europe, which has usually extolled a strong state that protects and nurtures the nation along with an aristocracy with a pronounced sense of noblesse oblige. By contrast, the central conservative ideology in the United States is often "anti-statist, individualistic, egalitarian, and democratic." The late sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset once described the American far right as "preservatist" in the sense that it seeks to maintain the status quo or return to an earlier era unsullied by the pathologies of contemporary society. As Lipset noted, the American conservative ethos glorifies the pioneer settler of a bygone era.[3] In a sense, many rightists are backward looking and idealize a mythic golden age.[4]

But, to characterize Carto as someone who merely wants to set the clock back and return America to an earlier era, would be oversimplified. Not unlike historical fascism, Carto's populist philosophy is Janus-faced in that it looks back to the past for inspiration yet endeavors to build a new order that never really existed before. Beneath the surface of the traditional American patriotic themes espoused by Liberty Lobby, one can discern the advocacy of an "authoritarian corporatist system based on a myth of racial nationalist rebirth."[5] Roger Griffin once described the core essence of fascism as an ultranationalist "palingenetic myth" (i.e., one that involves a process of death and rebirth).[6] In essence, fascism posited that the old order must be destroyed and rebuilt from the ground up. Carto's populism, however, is built upon an American philosophical foundation, without the more statist orientation of European fascism. This chapter elucidates the major themes of Carto's populist worldview.

Populism and Race

With regard to race, Carto champions self-determination, which essentially comes down to racial apartheid. According to Carto, globalists and plutocrats endeavor to amalgamate all races into a homogenous whole and, by doing so, destroy all national, racial, and religious differences.[7] As a result, they allegedly believe, they will contrive a more malleable population over which they can rule. Carto objects to interference with other races in any form, which, as he believes, ultimately results in the following:

> Slavery or imperialist exploitation; the institution of social programs which would radically modify another race's behavior; demands by one race for another to subsidize it financially or politically, criminal attacks by members of one race on another; and attempts by any racial minority to either divide or factionalize the majority of the society-nation in which the minority lives, or stirring up racial animosities between majority races or between a faction of the majority and a racial minority.[8]

In the long run, Carto is not sanguine about the direction of race relations in America:

> [T]he American Negro, who has never been treated so well, never had things so good, and [yet] he thinks that he [belongs to] the most repressed, downtrodden group in the world . . . . [T]he crime rate is bad enough around here as it is. And I think what in the hell is going to happen if you cut off the welfare checks for these people. It isn't going to be nice . . . . Welfare for the blacks is second only to interest on the debt. That has to be paid. The moment the interest is not paid on the federal debt, the whole thing comes tumbling down. So that has to be paid first. Even if the blacks are rioting, they have to pay interest on the debt.[9]

Carto's views on the consequences of racial integration are emblematic of the far right, as many in the movement believe that America will eventually implode under the weight of ethnic and racial strife sometime in the not-so-distant future. A popular underground book within the movement is *Civil War Two: The Coming Breakup of America*, which concludes that the ethnic and racial heterogeneity of the United States has reached a critical mass, so that the country is now ineluctably on a slow march to a Yugoslavian situation writ large.[10] Of course, immigration is seen as exacerbating this problem, since it adds more diverse groups to the ethnic and racial cauldron.

Despite the racialist orientation of Liberty Lobby, it has employed racial minorities, including blacks and Asians, on its staff. Moreover, racial minorities have occasionally been guests at Liberty Lobby functions. For example, at Liberty Lobby's thirty-fifth anniversary celebration, held over the weekend of August 31–September 3, 1990, at the Stouffer Concourse Hotel in Arlington, Virginia, the African American comedian and political activist Dick Gregory addressed the audience. As this suggests, Carto has sometimes sought to include racial minorities in a populist coalition, albeit one that would favor racial separation. Sometimes this view is described as "neo-racism," in which racial and ethnic particularism is framed not in terms of invidious racial supremacism, but rather in terms of cultural identity and self-determination.

Anti-Globalism

Carto reduces the primary political division in America to one of nationalism versus internationalism.[11] He believes that the Spanish American War was an important watershed in American history, in that it ushered in an internationalist orientation in American foreign policy. To Carto, imperialism is abhorrent to nationalism. Although not a pacifist, he recommends a course of armed neutrality to guide American foreign policy. He sees Woodrow Wilson's messianic foreign policy as an exemplar of the orientation that put the United States on a global interventionist course from which it has yet to desist. These various crusades, Carto argues, have left America in a weaker position than it was in 1945.[12] Although Carto describes Jews as the principal force behind globalism, he includes non-Jews in the conspiracy as well. These non-Jewish globalists he derides as "mattoids"—"an archaic term for people whose brilliance is marred by criminal insanity."[13]

A steadfast critic of globalization, Carto opines that we are not heading toward the creation of a "global village," but rather toward a "global plantation."[14] As he describes it, the goal of the so-called new world order is to establish a global government secretly controlled by a plutocracy accountable to no one but itself.[15] Through their control of money, the banks, and the media, Carto argues, the plutocrats have control over the politicians.[16] Economics figure prominently in his populist ideology.

Populist Economic Philosophy

Carto distinguishes free enterprise from capitalism. While he regards free enterprise as a fair economic system in which one is properly rewarded for the fruits of one's labor and entrepreneurialism, Carto identifies capitalism as exploitative and as a force for instability and revolution. Not unlike his mentor, Lawrence Dennis, Carto points out that capitalist economies experience periodic booms, busts, panics, and depressions.[17] The solution to this malaise is populism, which is vaunted as "the only social, economic and political system, which withstands the destructive and degenerative effects of modern, industrial society on the family, nation, race and culture."[18] Monopoly capitalism and Communism are seen as two sides of the same coin, in that both endeavor to reduce society to two classes: "the very rich and the slaves"; in short, both create a "global plantation." Carto believes that both systems are divisive. He decries the class struggle extolled by Communism. Instead, he believes that populism offers an integrative solution (not unlike European corporatism) for all economic classes in which every member of society can find his place. But Carto's American-styled populism also favors the development of a robust middle class through the free market system.[19]

The type of capitalism to which Liberty Lobby has been most sympathetic is one that favors small businesses, which are viewed as the bedrock of the American economy. Consistently, Liberty Lobby has voiced support for tax breaks for small businesses, but bemoans "corporate welfare" for the big multinational corporations.[20] In this sense, Liberty Lobby's position on economic policy diverges considerably from traditional American conservatism, as the former was suspicious of an unfettered free enterprise model, while the latter has often fetishized the market.

In the realm of international commerce, Carto has long been a staunch critic of free trade, and over the years he has supported tariffs that would protect American farmers.[21] In 1961, Liberty Lobby attacked the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which was then promoting lowered tariffs and increased international trade.[22] Instead, Carto has favored a policy of economic nationalism, similar to that espoused by Patrick Buchanan.[23] Carto is critical of the classic free market theorist, Adam Smith, arguing that his theory is based on materialism, not unlike Karl Marx's Communism.[24] An issue of *Right* once carried an article by Senator George W. Malone (R-NV), which condemned free trade as serving the long-term agenda of international Communism, pointing out that Karl Marx once remarked, "I am for free trade because it hastens the revolution."[25]

During the Cold War, Liberty Lobby voiced opposition to granting "most-favored-nation" status and long-term credits to Soviet bloc countries. To Liberty Lobby, this was tantamount to treason insofar as it would allow these nations to supply the Viet Cong with weapons with which to fight American soldiers in Vietnam.[26] Liberty Lobby denounced the Export-Import Bank as a scheme by which "big business fat cats" would "trade American lives for Red gold."[27] Not only was this a bad investment for the American taxpayer, Liberty Lobby averred, but it would also give the Soviet bloc access to machinery and equipment with which to build its war-making industry.[28]

In 1962, Carto wrote an essay titled "The Inside Story," in which he lambasted the new Trade Expansion Act that would increase corporate profits at the expense of American workers. To make his case, he pointed out that the trade measure drew support from a wide array of business lobbies, Jewish interest groups, and globalist organizations, such as the Council on Foreign Relations.[29]

During the late 1980s, Liberty Lobby placed a high priority on protective trade measures that would protect American jobs from overseas producers. For example, in 1987, Liberty Lobby issued a critical tract on free trade by Gus R. Stelzer, titled "Free Trade and the Constitution." Stelzer took issue with the laissez-faire economic doctrine, which enjoyed renewed popularity during the Reagan administration and was championed by economists such as Arthur Laffer and Milton Friedman. The Constitution, Stelzer stressed, was populist, not libertarian, in orientation. As such, current free trade policies went against the grain of American tradition. He noted that increased free trade came with an increase in foreign debt, as well as an increase in the U.S. trade deficit. Furthermore, free trade encouraged American firms to relocate production overseas, thereby eliminating American jobs. To remedy this situation, Stelzer proposed tariffs on imports to protect American industries.[30]

In the early 1990s, Liberty Lobby sought to capitalize on the anti-NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) campaign. Trisha Katson, who worked for David Duke's political campaigns in Louisiana, returned to Liberty Lobby to lead the organization's efforts against NAFTA.[31] Liberty Lobby warned that the NAFTA treaty would hurt both American industry and American workers.[32] The loss and declining quality of American jobs have been continuing topics of interest in Carto's papers.[33] In the early 2000s, outsourcing—the transfer of American jobs to foreign countries—has become a principal concern of *American Free Press*.[34]

Carto is fond of pointing out that some of the early socialists in America were racialist and sought to preserve the welfare and rights of white workers.[35] Liberty Lobby once advocated a "Sovereignty Proposal," which called for interest-free loans granted by Congress to local governments for the purpose

of funding capital projects that would create jobs.[36] Indicative of its eclectic platform, *American Free Press* carried an editorial by the Social Democrat representative (now Senator) from Vermont, Bernie Sanders, in which he decried the outsourcing of American jobs. Sanders was characterized as a "left-wing populist" who was not afraid to sock "unpatriotic profiteers."[37]

Although Carto has championed populist economic themes, he has been critical of organized labor, such as the AFL-CIO.[38] *Right* lauded a speech delivered on the floor of the House by Representative Ralph W. Gwinn, titled "The State of the Unions—Now." Gwinn claimed that labor bosses had established "ownership over Congress."[39] Carto maintains that he supports the rank and file members of labor unions, but opposes their leadership. On that note, Liberty Lobby came out against the repeal of a section of the Taft-Hartley Act, which would make it easier for union leaders to solicit funds from its members, thereby increasing the leaders' coffers and influence.[40] Similarly, Carto depicted the Situs Picketing bill (H.R. 100)—a law that would allow labor leaders to close down construction sites for a number of reasons—as a form of extortion whereby potentially serious military and space projects could be shut down on a mere ten days' notice.[41]

By appealing to those who share consternation over certain aspects of globalization—for example, free trade treaties such as GATT and NAFTA—Liberty Lobby has been able to reach out to a broad spectrum of people, many of whom might not share its underlying racialist worldview.[42] In that vein, the *Spotlight* reported with enthusiasm the participation of activists from both the political left and the right at protests against meetings of the WTO, World Bank, and IMF.[43]

In addition to the mundane field of economics, Carto's populism took into account the spiritual realm as well.

Populism and Religion

One interesting characteristic of Carto is his ability to assimilate so many diverse and seemingly contradictory views into a single political philosophy. Although he describes himself as a "cultural Christian," he has at times been critical of the Christian religion. In his critical exposé in the *National Review*, C. H. Simonds insisted that Carto was an atheist.[44] Almost a decade later, Carto wrote a foreword to Nietzsche's book, *The Anti-Christ*, which was once published by his Noontide Press. In it, Carto praised Nietzsche for his contention that man was an integral part of nature, and for his criticism of human equality and democracy. Carto argued that Christianity has been a divisive force in the history of the West:

> Has Christianity done anything to diminish intra-European warfare as compared with a thousand years ago—before the religion of the man from Galilee became official? I think not. The rivers of blood shed by Charlemagne and other ambitious zealots while converting our heathen, polytheistic European forefathers was far less than the oceans of gore that have been drawn by Christian from Christian since our people embraced the faith . . . . Very good reasons may exist to justify "Christianity" but universal unity is decidedly not one of them . . . . Ironically, a monistic religion creates more division, schism and enmity among its professors than a polytheistic one because the intolerant mood which it creates suffers no deviation from the "one" true faith.[45]

Despite his criticisms of the religion of Christianity, Carto has found admirable qualities in Jesus the man and even once characterized him as the first populist; he has praised Jesus as a man who challenged the political establishment of his day and, for doing so, paid the ultimate price. Therefore, Carto grants that under certain conditions, Christianity has merit. However, he has also claimed that the religion has been twisted for malevolent purposes by unscrupulous leaders and clergymen. Carto has taken issue with two broad categories of Christianity. The first he has described as flaunting a theology that was "little different from communism." The other "fundamentalist" variant (e.g., the Christianity espoused by Jerry Falwell) has been criticized by Carto for its philo-Semitism in that it recognizes Jews as "God's Chosen People." Like Nietzsche, Carto believes that such a strong identification with Judaism has poisoned the national and cultural life of the West. In order to expiate guilt derived from the Holocaust, Carto argues that philo-Semitism has increased in the postwar era. The increasing conflation of Christianity and Judaism, known as Judeo-Christianity, constitutes an existential threat to the racial and cultural survival of the West. In that sense, Christianity has become, as Carto puts it, "more than a philosophy, more than indecency, more than a lie. It is a deadly enemy—the traitor at the gate. A secret enemy—one who poses as your friend—nay, your savior—is far more dangerous than an open enemy."[46]

Yet in an article titled "Jesus Christ Was God—And A Populist," Carto describes Jesus as "a man as well as God," who "taught other men to store up treasures in Heaven but not to neglect the world in which they live." Carto points out that it was noted in the Bible that on two occasions Jesus used violence against his opponents. Furthermore, he sees Jesus as a staunch critic of the practice of usury. Carto argues that Jesus's outburst when he drove the merchants and the moneychangers out of the temple should be seen as further evidence of his populist orientation. Through his exemplary life, "Christ had become a mortal threat to the Jewish priest-politicians." According to Carto's historiography, Jesus was a man of action who sought to build a movement to destroy the system he hated. Carto described Pontius Pilate as a Roman governor who "had no stomach for the pettifoggery of the priest-politicians and their tiresome hypocrisy." Seeking to mollify the Jewish authorities, Pilate released Barrabas and ordered the execution of Jesus. In sum, Carto concludes that Jesus was the greatest populist in history.[47]

On occasion, Carto has worked with some of the more respectable Christian conservative leaders and organizations, such as James Dobson's Focus on the Family.[48] However, for the most part, Liberty Lobby has parted company with the mainstream Christian Right. Prominent evangelists, such as Pat Robertson and the late Jerry Falwell, have come under frequent criticism for their unflagging support of Israel. Robertson has been depicted as a lecherous man involved in numerous shady financial deals.[49] *American Free Press* has disparaged evangelists such as Robertson and Jerry Falwell along with prophecy experts, such as Tim LaHaye, Hal Lindsay, and Michael Evans, and has warned that they threaten to lead the United States down the path to Armageddon in order to satisfy their literalist zealotry.[50] The *Spotlight* castigated the Christian right fundraiser, Richard Viguerie, for his refusal to address "racial issues, the money and banking question, the influence of the international outfits such as David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission and the ever-growing power of political Zionism."[51]

Instead, Carto consorts with less conventional Christian clergymen and activists. For example, he supported Reverend John Harrell, a Christian Identity activist, and his Christian Patriots Defense League.[52] Radio evangelist Dale Crowley, who was once involved in Carto's Populist Party, has contributed articles to the *Spotlight* and *American Free Press*. Crowley has been very critical of Zionism and its evangelical Christian supporters, such as Jerry Falwell, Ed McAteer, Gary Bauer, and Pat Robertson.[53]

Another close associate of Carto is the Baptist activist, E. Stanley Rittenhouse, who served as the legislative aide for Liberty Lobby from 1974 to the early 1980s. Seeking to distance himself from the philo-Semitic Christian Right, in 1982 Rittenhouse published *For Fear of the Jews*, in which he excoriated the state of Israel and took issue with its Christian Zionist supporters. Furthermore, he implicated freemasons as dupes and accomplices in a Zionist plot for world domination. In his selective reading of history, Rittenhouse identified Jews as the leading culprits in the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. He argues for the veracity of *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* and identifies the document as the blueprint for Jewish world domination. Zionists are accused of dragging the United States into World War I via the Balfour Declaration. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon is cited as a prelude to a larger drive of aggression for hegemony in the Middle East. Inasmuch as the Jews of the New Testament era rejected Jesus as the messiah, Rittenhouse argues that their covenant with God is broken. As such, Rittenhouse concludes that "Israel has been put in escrow and thus Israel, as a nation, is no longer being used to reveal God to the world."[54]

Rittenhouse, who claims to come from a long line of German American forebears, once served as the president of the German American Information and Education Association, which was founded by the ex-Hitler Youth member, Hans Schmidt. In 1982, Rittenhouse founded the Exhorters, Inc., a tax-exempt organization located in Vienna, Virginia, to promote *For Fear of the Jews*. Over the years, he has been a frequent contributor to the *Spotlight*.[55] In 2000, he ran for president as a write-in candidate, campaigning on a platform consisting of opposition to gun control, abortion, foreign aid, immigration, and the Federal Reserve.[56]

Profiles in Populism

Carto has long championed a "populist" version of right-wing extremism, which contains many anti-plutocratic and anti-big business themes. Toward this end, in 1982 Carto edited a book, *Profiles in Populism* (later republished as *Populism vs. Plutocracy: The Universal Struggle*), which systematized his populist philosophy and highlighted various populists in American history.

In *Profiles in Populism*, Carto lionizes the early leaders of the American republic. Thomas Jefferson is billed as the "greatest revolutionary" that "brought progress to the world and happiness to millions." More to the point, he writes admiringly of the Jeffersonian notion of a natural aristocracy whose sense of noblesse oblige encouraged the early American leaders to do what was best for the nation. Carto also admires Jefferson's views on race, in which he recognizes the "human differences" of the various races that then inhabited the North American continent. He extols Jefferson's banking policies as well. Finally, he admires Jefferson's views on states' rights and on constraining the power of the federal government.[57] Similarly, Andrew Jackson is lauded as the embodiment of the populist idea and is commended for his America First foreign policy, as well as for his positions on trade, banking, and race.[58]

Carto also praises several former members of Congress for their populist orientation. He admires the former Wisconsin governor (and later senator) Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., for his staunch opposition to money trusts dominated by J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller during the early twentieth century, as well as to the incipient Federal Reserve. Carto also applauds LaFollette's advocacy of direct democracy. In the realm of foreign policy, he compliments LaFollette's renunciation of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations.[59] Hiram Johnson, the pugnacious governor and senator from California, is honored for opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Affiliated with both the Progressive and Republican Parties, Johnson's efforts to keep the United States out of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the United Nations are lauded as well.[60]

Carto reveres Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana for his support of the noninterventionist movement, America First.[61] Hamilton Fish, the Republican representative from New York, is touted as a "Patriot for a Century." Such words of praise are somewhat surprising in that, as Carto concedes, Fish supported the creation of Israel and civil rights legislation. However, Carto praises Fish as a strong critic of FDR who initially resisted Roosevelt's efforts to bring the United States into World War II. Furthermore, he admires Fish's disdain for Wall Street, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and other pillars of the Eastern establishment.[62]

Robert A. Taft, the Republican senator from Ohio, is acclaimed for his steadfast opposition to FDR and the New Deal. Carto finds merit in Taft's isolationism as well as in his abiding criticism of Eisenhower, against whom he ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1952.[63] Republican Senator George Malone is commended for his populist approach to trade policy and for his advocacy of national self-sufficiency. Like Carto, Malone decried free trade, as he saw it as detrimental to the American economy. Malone's isolationism called for a return to the Monroe Doctrine, in which the United States would develop self-sufficiency within its hemisphere, thus eliminating its dependency on faraway lands and multinational corporations.[64]

Several state and local politicians are recognized for their populism. Carto lionizes Thomas E. Watson, who was governor of Georgia around the turn of the century, and who opposed the "Bourbons," his term for the plutocratic Democrats in the South. Moreover, Carto endorses Watson's attitudes on blacks, in that he favored strict segregation yet harbored "no malice" toward them. Watson's opposition to big banking and the Federal Reserve is lauded.[65] Democratic Governor William Henry Murray, known as "Alfalfa Bill," is commended for his part in attaining statehood for Oklahoma, his segregationist stance, and his battles against the Federal Reserve. Murray's book, *Palestine*, is credited as a prescient analysis that recognized the threat that Zionism posed to the Middle East.[66] Huey P. Long, the "Kingfish" who dominated Louisiana politics during the late 1920s and early 1930s, is described as an economic populist who threatened the plutocrats of his day.[67] Finally, Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo is depicted as a man who resisted and beat the liberal establishment of his own Democratic Party. Rizzo was also admired for his tough law and order approach to crime control.[68]

Carto also favors certain American businessmen and entrepreneurs. Thomas Edison is billed as the epitome of the self-made man, who made "the American Dream come true." He saw Edison's magnanimous attitude toward his workers as an exemplar of how a man could responsibly manage great wealth. Furthermore, Carto finds merit in Edison's position on protectionism and agricultural policy. He notes that Edison's son, Charles, was a steady financial supporter of Liberty Lobby.[69] Not surprisingly, Carto is abundant in his praise of Henry Ford, who he says exemplified the socially responsible American entrepreneur. He writes admiringly of Ford's antiwar position concerning American intervention in Europe.[70]

Carto also championed William Randolph Hearst, the publisher of the *San Francisco Examiner*, for the populist tone of his newspaper. Moreover, he approved of Hearst's isolationist stance.[71] Robert R. McCormick, the publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, is commended for his advocacy of neutrality and for his opposition to FDR and the Federal Reserve.[72] The acerbic American author, H. L. Mencken, is applauded for his isolationism as well the anti-establishment tenor of his writings.[73]

In the realm of literature, Carto exalts Ezra Pound as one of America's greatest poets, and for heroically opposing FDR's push for war in Europe. Pound's service as a radio propagandist in Fascist Italy is characterized as an admirable effort to inform Americans that their system of government and society had been taken over by "alien forces dedicated to achieving their own goals, trampling over American interests in the process."[74]

Carto portrays the firebrand radio priest Charles E. Coughlin as a genuine populist, who sought to unite patriotic and nationalistic forces irrespective of sectarian religious differences. Carto endorses Coughlin's critique of capitalism. He clearly admires the fact that Coughlin became a thorn in the side of President Roosevelt for criticizing the New Deal and his interventionist policies in Europe. Carto cites opposition from Jewish organizations, such as the ADL, as evidence of Coughlin's bona fides as a true American hero.[75] His fellow isolationist, the American aviator Charles A. Lindbergh, is venerated for his support of America First and its efforts to keep the United States out of World War II. Carto also commends Lindbergh's segregationist views on race.[76]

Carto on Populism

Despite his occasional publications and speeches on the topic of populism, Carto's position on it has often been vague. In an interview, I sought to elicit from Carto a firmer position on the topic:

WILLIS CARTO: Populism differs from other government styles in that it is literally of, by, and for the people. Populism, I believe, can be better defined by what it is not. Populism is not government by pressure groups. And that is, of course, what you have in the United States. We have government by pressure groups . . . . The government today is not a democracy. It's not a republic. It's not a monarchy. And it's not a dictatorship. It is a government by pressure groups papered over, quote unquote, by a rubbery rationale called the Constitution.

But all that does is to disguise it by calling it democracy, like our sainted president [George W. Bush], our commander in chief, our great grand marshal, calling what we have now democracy is a ludicrous fiction. What we have now of course is a plutocracy. Anybody should be able to see that this government is governed by the very rich. And that of course, is about the worst form of government that you could possibly have, because their interests are the only ones that matter, so to disguise what's really going on they call it democracy. They go around the world giving democracy to everybody, whether they want it or not, trying to make every country as corrupt as this [country is].

Whatever this country is, it is certainly not populism. Populism is government by the people without pressure groups being dominant as they are . . . . The banks historically have played the part of the most aggressive, and the most powerful and the most fearsome minority pressure group. This is what Andrew Jackson realized. [Carto thinks very highly of Andrew Jackson. His farewell address was once reprinted in the *Barnes Review*.][77] He did everything possible to throw them out. And he was successful for a time, but the bankers never stopped. But of course, the banks are only one of the pressure groups that dominate this country. But, the public has nothing to say about it.

Let's talk about fascism for a minute. The liberals get upset over fascism . . . . The truth is that historic fascism such as Italy where the word came from, or [as it was called in Germany] National Socialism, which is what it was. Fascism is really a populist economic system. It's a system whereby the dictator appeals to the public directly and goes over the heads of the bankers and over the heads of the industrialists and over the heads of the other interests. That's why they got those huge majorities in the plebiscites like Hitler had. Fascism is populism.

But there is one difference, which is an essential difference . . . . Fascism is authoritarian populism. That's not what we ever had in this country. That's certainly not what I advocate. I advocate a democratic populism. Europe literally had communists marching in the streets [during the 1920s and 1930s]. And where populist movements had been submerged by communism such as in Romania and such as in Hungary, the anti-communist movement had to be militant . . . . It had to be authoritarian. It had to be pyramidical where you had leaders at the top, just like an army, because it was an army. They were fighting organized communism. They were fighting big money . . . . And the people literally put down communism all over Europe.

GEORGE MICHAEL: Do you think that perhaps populism lends itself better to an authoritarian structure rather than a democratic structure? It would seem to me that democracy runs the risk of having a government by interest groups. That's the nature of a democracy with all of its checks and balances.

WC: You see the point. I think there is a lot of truth to that, because a popular leader, who was responsible to the public alone, can only rise when there is a real perceived danger to the country, to the people. And so it would be natural that he would get a lot of power . . . . In this country this has never happened . . . . There's never been a danger in this country since the War of 1812. There's never been a danger to this country except the ones that we've created ourselves, because it's been good business for the arms manufacturers and these goddamn crooked politicians.

In order to advance his populist agenda, Carto endeavored to create a third party based on its precepts.

14

The Populist Party

Although Carto occasionally supported candidates for political office early in his career, he generally had little confidence in creating a viable third party. Instead, he tended to focus his efforts on operating within the two-party system.

For years, Liberty Lobby maintained that third parties in America, unless they have been able to achieve power (which has been very rare), could only become focal points for splinter ideas or serve as power brokers to swing elections between the lesser of the two evils represented by the two major parties. Therefore, the Lobby proposed a strategy of "infiltration" by creating a "party within a party," whereby it could place control of the GOP in conservative hands. This plan was published in early 1965 in a tract titled *The Conservative Victory Plan*, which was a blueprint for grassroots activists, who could work to influence politics at the precinct and state party levels of organization.[1] To further that goal, in the late 1960s Carto created the United Republicans for America, which was designed to take control of the Republican Party. The organization conducted a direct mail campaign for G. Gordon Liddy when he ran for Congress in New York in 1968.[2] Liddy later gained infamy for his role in the Watergate break-in.

After the 1968 election, Liberty Lobby redoubled its efforts in electoral politics. In 1969, for example, Liberty Lobby released a publication titled *The How*, essentially a manual for conservative activism. The guide argued that conservatives too often lament what is wrong in America without offering any solution on how to fix the problem. It insisted that more was needed than merely educating the masses. For ultimate victory, a concrete political organization was necessary. As the guide explained, politics was the pursuit of power, which must be sought at all times. In order to effectively change the law in favor of conservatism, activists must perfect electioneering, that is, defeat at the polls those congressmen and senators who fail to uphold conservative principles and nominate and elect those candidates that do. Furthermore, the guide proposed that effective lobbying was necessary in order to pressure and persuade lawmakers to favor conservative legislation. Otherwise, lawmakers would surely capitulate to "special-interest minority pressure groups." Therefore, the creation of a pressure group for patriotism was in order. Liberty Lobby was billed as the entity fulfilling this need. *The*

How explained that Liberty Lobby took a mass approach, seeking a broad base of support. However, by doing so, it created problems, since this approach did "not enlist the support of moneyed persons." Moreover, reaching out to a broad base absorbed a great deal of time.[3]

Occasionally, Carto has described the Republican Party as the creature of plutocrats, big money, and the new world order. Conversely, he has complained that the Democratic Party is the creation of socialists. Therefore, Carto sees little hope in reforming the two major political parties. Yet, he has seen the creation of a viable third party as problematic in that it would require a great deal of money. Nonetheless, he has gradually come to believe that a viable third party must be created, and in the mid-1980s he began to dedicate himself to this effort.

Origins of the Populist Party

As one observer put it, by the early 1980s, the American far right had "degenerated into a movement not merely oppositional, but thoroughly alienated from routine political processes."[4] Whereas the respectable conservative movement had expanded to include the New Right and the Christian Right, the far right was relegated to a political ghetto with virtually no policymaking influence. Despite all the malaise that Liberty Lobby discerned in contemporary America, the country was still seen as the only hope for the salvation of the West, as the Lobby explained in a 1985 newsletter: "America is the last bastion of freedom. If we lose here, it's all over, my friend."[5] According to Carto, all American institutions had let the American people down. Both liberals and conservatives were portrayed as unconcerned about the direction of America insofar as they ignored the major issues confronting the country, most pressingly, the economy and the plight of the family farmer. Furthermore, they would not dare to identify the real enemies, such as the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderbergers, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Club of Rome, and political Zionism. Only Liberty Lobby had the courage to stand up against these plutocratic, internationalist entities.

Carto believed that to be effective, populism required a different approach from traditional conservatism. Invoking the German military theorist Carl von Clausewitz, Carto once reasoned that "politics is war and war is not fought, has never been fought, and cannot be fought democratically." Therefore, to be effective, "populists must change [their] strategic and operational outlook, organization and methods." In a 1986 speech before members of the Populist Party, Carto drew inspiration from General George Washington and Francis Parker Yockey:

> Whenever I think all is lost and I may well give up, I remember that great man—certainly one of the greatest men of all history and all nations and races, George Washington and his motley trained revolutionary army. Only Washington's leadership won the war and created this great nation. . . . If George Washington had been only a practical man and not an idealist also, he would surely have abandoned the fight at Valley Forge, 209 years ago. He had suffered defeat at Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown. And his forces numbered only about 11,000 cold, hungry, flea-infested, sick and defeated men, with more deserting every day. Only the power of his stern, uncompromising, optimistic leadership held them together. . . . Washington was facing the greatest military power in the world with virtually unlimited resources, cruel, treacherous and determined. One of Washington's key men was a traitor! Remember—there is always the Judas. It was cold, wet and they didn't have enough to eat, rags to wear nor guns to shoot. Nor powder to shoot them with. To top it off, only a minority of the country really supported the cause and the despicable Tories were plotting their downfall. About the only thing they had going for them was the knowledge that if they lost, things would be even worse. But Washington knew the great secret of history. He knew that only one thing in life is sure. And that is the absolute certainty of change. . . . He knew as Yockey knew that in history incident plays counterpoint to destiny and that great change in the existing order of things is certain, inevitable and always unexpected, so he used the time at hand to prepare. And he trained those men and they worked through that bitter, bitter winter. He didn't give up!
>
> And that is exactly our choice today. To abandon the cause or stay in the battle and fight even though all seems hopeless and lost for only thus can we make ourselves ready to take advantage of the opportunities inevitable change always brings.
>
> That is why we are here today. Not because I can promise you victory tomorrow. But because I tell you that victory the day after tomorrow is certain if we work hard, maintain order, have patience and faith and be ready to seize the opportunities as they come.[6]

The Populist Party was formally created in 1984. The new party emphasized traditional themes promoted by Liberty Lobby; one of its fundraising letters warned of the impending new world order, gun control, and new hate crime laws.[7] This revived brand of populism endeavored to reach out to farmers that were squeezed by the farm crisis of the 1980s. According to political scientist Leonard Weinberg, the Populist Party sought to exploit the fears of midwestern farmers and focus their discontent on Jewish bankers and financiers.[8] Skillfully, Carto sought to link the specific problems of farmers with the wider perceived menace of global Zionism. According to this reasoning, plutocrats conspired to bankrupt independent farmers. The only effective solution to this problem was populism.[9] To raise awareness of this issue, the *Spotlight* reprinted a popular tract, which implicated Jewish financiers in the farm crisis: "Billions for the Bankers, Debts for the People," by Sheldon Emry, a prominent Christian Identity leader. During that period, the ADL characterized the Populist Party's campaign to exploit the farm crisis as the most sophisticated political move by the extreme right in recent memory.[10]

The Populist Party was created as an amalgamation of various far right splinter groups, including the Constitution Party, the American Party of Indiana, the American Independent Party in California, and Christian Identity groups in Indiana and Florida.[11] Early on, the *Spotlight* promoted the new Populist Party. As has usually been the case, Carto preferred to avoid the limelight and to have other persons assume formal leadership positions. He did, however, hold the position of chairman of the Populist Party's Program Committee. The first chairman of the Populist Party was Robert Weems, who once served as a state chaplain for the Mississippi Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and had been active in the National States Rights Party.[12] However, Weems did not last long in this Populist Party position, and William Baker soon took over as chairman.[13]

The party held its first national convention in Nashville, Tennessee, in August 1984. Delegates to the convention chose Bob Richards (an Olympic pole vault champion, whose image once adorned the Wheaties cereal box) and Maureen Kennedy Salaman (then president of the National Health Federation) as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively. Chosen as party officers were William Baker (chairman), Jim Yarbrough (vice chairman), Don Kimball (secretary), and Dale Crowley (treasurer).[14]

With some prodding, Carto had been able to persuade Bob Richards to run as the party's presidential candidate, and the party managed to place him on the ballot in fourteen states.[15] Amid increasing criticism that the Populist Party was under the influence of Liberty Lobby, Richards eventually broke with the party and denounced Liberty Lobby and ran instead as an independent candidate. His running mate, Salaman, who had previously been a Liberty Lobby activist, remained loyal to the Populist Party and did not repudiate her candidacy. Carto later described Richards as a "lousy candidate . . . a real upbeat rah rah, motivational speaker, but downbeat speaker in politics . . . a complete phony." He did, however, speak highly of Maureen Salaman, whom he described as "hard working."[16] In the 1984 presidential election, Richards and his running mate, Salaman garnered 66,000 votes.[17] According to Liberty Lobby, the Populist Party raised $661,381.84 that same year. However, by the end of 1984, the party was $338,822.55 in debt after having paid $658,663.21 to various creditors and having a bank balance of $2,718.63.[18]

In its early years, the Populist Party focused its efforts on Iowa, where John Vogel, a farmer, actually drew 3.5 percent of the vote in the state's forty-fifth senatorial district. In his home area, Vogel drew 18 percent, and in one precinct, he ran as high as 35 percent. Betty McConkey served as the chairwoman of the Iowa Populist Party. She once ran for local office under the banner of the American Constitutional Party in Des Moines, Iowa. As a youth during the late 1940s, McConkey attended Northwest Bible College in Minneapolis and planned on being a missionary, but eventually she joined Dr. Fred Schwartz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, an organization that supposedly helped H. L. Hunt (a wealthy benefactor of right-wing causes) compile a history of Communism in the United States. Before her involvement in the Populist Party, McConkey worked for the American Security Council's Peace Through Strength project.[19]

Like so many other projects involving Carto, a familiar pattern emerged in which he would go on to repudiate his former associates. After the election, the *Spotlight* reported that Richards came under the influence of a trio of promoters, two of whom were "known to be federal undercover informants and another an outspoken devotee to Israel." Richards was blamed for leaving the party in a state of disarray, which resulted in several fines levied on the party by the Federal Election Commission. William K. Shearer was criticized for inviting Roy Bullock—who, it later transpired, was an ADL informant—into a party leadership position. Eventually, Fred R. Seipold, an Idaho attorney and former high school principal, replaced Baker as chairman of the party; but in September 1985, Shearer forced Seipold to resign. Shearer took over the chairmanship of the party, but he later came under pressure to tender his resignation, which he never did. While Shearer was embattled, John Couture of Wisconsin claimed chairmanship of the Party.[20] Eventually, amid this rancor and fracture, Carto intervened and sought to reassert control over the party.

Splits in the Populist Party

Carto's efforts to heal the Populist Party's divisions were unsuccessful, and in 1986 the party split into two factions. In fact, the official party chairman, William K. Shearer, expelled Carto from the party that same year. In 1968, Shearer had coordinated George Wallace's state ballot qualification campaign in California for the American Independent Party.[21] During the 1960s, he had been a leader in the California Citizens' Council.[22]

After Carto's ouster from the party, the *Spotlight* accused Shearer of orchestrating a *coup d'état* against the founding leaders of the Populist Party. Shearer and his allies—Chairman John Couture, Treasurer Faye Miler, Vice Chairman for Agriculture Rolland Victor, and Chairman of the Populist Party for Indiana Richard Weimer—voted to expel Carto from the executive committee. Voting against the move to oust Carto were Maureen Salaman, Donald L. Kimball (the party's national secretary), and Jerry Pope (the chairman of the Populist Party of Kentucky). Shearer had earlier directed the expulsion of other members from the executive committee including William W. Baker, Fred Seipold, and Jim Yarbrough.

The Shearer faction eventually established its headquarters in Phoenix, Arizona. Not to be outmaneuvered, in February 1987, Carto established his own faction, naming Tom McIntyre, an electrician from Pittsburgh, national chairman. Some members of the original executive committee were later disillusioned with Shearer's leadership and sought to reunite with the Carto faction. On the weekend of August 8–10, 1986, forty-five Populist Party leaders—including Seipold, Pope, Van Loman, Michael Collins Piper, Ralph Forbes, Harriet Crank, Willis Carto, Tom McIntyre, Don Wassall, Mary Heiler, Emmette Baker, Johnny Vogel, Trisha Katson, and Bob Weems—met in Cincinnati and announced the creation of the Confederation of Populist Party State Leaders: an alliance of state and national party leaders who sought to revive the party from the ruins of internecine conflict.[23] The Shearer faction later dissolved and returned to the shell of the American Independent Party.[24]

As is so often the case, finances appear to have been a bone of contention between the warring factions. Shearer was held personally responsible for the Populist Party's debt to Liberty Lobby.[25] The *Spotlight* welcomed a June 26, 1987, decision by Judge Ernest R. Cox of the southern division of the U.S. District Court of Alabama. Cox issued a judgment against Shearer's organization, ordering him to pay $289,326.19 to Liberty Lobby for services that the latter had rendered to the Populist Party in 1984.[26]

In February 1987, leaders of the party met once again in Washington, D.C., and voted unanimously to reinstate the original party platform, which had been released in 1984.[27] The new national office of the party was listed as P.O. Box 135, Worthington, Pennsylvania.[28] In March 1987, the revived party held a national committee convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at which former Representative George V. Hansen (R-ID) addressed the party and allowed it to use his name to get on state ballots for the upcoming presidential election. Carto also addressed the convention and discussed the setbacks to

the party as a result of the split with the Shearer faction. However, he closed the meeting with a six-step program to rebuild the party: 1) to develop quality leadership; 2) to not allow people to join the party to promote selfish interests; 3) to prohibit membership to people "who just like to talk"; 4) to prohibit membership to people "who like to carry tales and gossip" and "are not interested in building the party"; 5) to enlist people who are sincere in building the party; and 6) to stress quality and aggressive leadership.[29]

But even in the reconstituted party, fissures soon emerged. At the convention, Carto loyalist Michael Collins Piper accused Shearer and Betty McConkey of trying to wreck the Populist Party. He introduced a resolution to remove McConkey from the party, which the delegates unanimously passed. McConkey also came under criticism for her questionable fund-raising activities on behalf of the organization.

A number of years earlier, McConkey had been convicted of wire fraud in a scheme that involved raising money for her purported anti-Communist activities. After a seven-month FBI investigation, she was charged with fraud. In 1970, a federal court found her guilty of three counts of wire fraud. She allegedly bilked $170,000 from Gustav Kveen, a Minnesota farmer over a ten-year period from 1958 to 1968. Reportedly, she developed a bizarre special code based on the Bible, in which she wired requests to Kveen for money. McConkey grew increasingly paranoid, as she believed that the "enemy" had deciphered and intercepted her code. Feeling surrounded and embattled, she sought the funds to buy a private plane so that she could avoid the danger of bomb scares on commercial air flights. U.S. District Judge Edward J. Devitt sentenced her to a five-year sentence.[30] She ended up spending eighteen months in prison.[31]

Despite her ouster, McConkey still sought to take control over the Populist Party. According to some allegations, she directed a private Iowa-based corporation called "the Populist Party of America, Inc.," which was not officially affiliated with the Populist Party. Another Populist Party organization had its headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana. The new entity became very critical of the original Populist Party and its choice of David Duke as its 1988 presidential candidate. It took issue with Duke's Klan background, insisting that he was an unelectable candidate with too much baggage. Although Richard G. Weimer, who chaired the Indiana party grouping, endorsed the positions that Duke took on various issues (e.g., strong defense, low taxes, "pro-America policy in the Middle East"), he believed that Duke's background nullified any chance of his connecting with significant numbers of American voters, and he described the Populist Party's performance in the 1988 election as "incredibly poor." Weimer defended the Shearer version of the Populist Party, that is, the California-based American Independent Party that Shearer had returned to after his split with Carto. Later, Michael Collins Piper surmised that Weimer was an ADL plant, having been inserted in the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) and Populist Party to undermine both organizations.[32]

Still another Populist Party convention was held in September 1987 in St. Louis, Missouri. Don Wassall drew up the agenda for the convention, and Phil Chesler served as its host. The principal goals of the meeting were a) to nominate candidates for the upcoming 1988 presidential election; b) to come up with a strategy to place the party on all state ballots; and c) to set up plans to raise funds for the candidates. The party planned a tripartite strategy, not unlike that of Lyndon LaRouche, by running candidates as Democrats, Republicans, and Populists.[33]

Several figures addressed the convention, including Ralph Forbes, a candidate for the party's vice-presidential nomination. Tom McIntyre invited George Hansen, a former Idaho Republican congressman, who had once served a prison term for violating an election law, to be the keynote speaker for the event.[34] It was agreed that Don Wassall would share leadership of the party with McIntyre. That same year, Wassall assumed the position of secretary of the party's new national office. He also owned and operated the party's official newspaper, the *Populist Observer*.

The nominating committee recommended George Hansen for president and Hubert Patty, a former Republican candidate for governor of Tennessee, as his running mate. Although other candidates were considered, these two were unanimously acclaimed at the convention for the Populist Party ticket.[35] However, the party later reversed this nomination and chose the long-time racialist activist, David Duke, to be its presidential candidate.

David Duke

Carto had long admired David Duke for his unabashed racial activism. Eventually, Duke won over two other major contenders: Jim Traficant, a Democratic House Representative from Ohio, and a retired Green Beret Colonel, Bo Gritz. Traficant occasionally gave verbal support to Liberty Lobby, which in turn supported him amid his legal problems in the early 2000s.[36]

Don Wassall ran Duke's 1988 presidential campaign from his office in Ford City, Pennsylvania. He rented Liberty Lobby's mailing list for $9,389 and was able to raise $136,000—a relatively paltry sum on which to run a presidential campaign. Supposedly, Wassall favored Bo Gritz over Duke for the nomination, fearing that the latter's racist past would tarnish the party's image. The *Spotlight* gave publicity to the retired Green Beret, Bo Gritz, who would go on to become a leading figure in the militia movement in the 1990s.[37] Gritz

was also a member of the Populist Action Committee, a group created by Carto.[38]

Ultimately, Duke won the nomination over Gritz, but then chose the latter to be his running mate. Although Gritz initially accepted this offer, he later denounced Duke as a racist and condemned his neo-Nazi past. He went so far as to claim that a photo of the two together had been doctored, and that he could not remember when it had been taken. Later that year, Gritz ran for Congress, but was defeated in the Republican primary.[39] His name actually remained on the ballot as a presidential candidate in eighteen states. Populist Party leaders eventually drafted an unknown doctor from New Mexico—Dr. Floyd Parker—who had experience as a third party organizer to run as Duke's running mate.[40]

That year, other third parties and candidates positioned themselves as populists. The Populist Party ran into some competition from Lyndon LaRouche's organization, which had attained a degree of popularity in the farm belt.[41] In the race for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, both Jesse Jackson and Richard Gephardt (D-MO) styled themselves as populist candidates. Duke finished fifth in the presidential election, with 48,267 votes, or 0.05 percent of the votes cast, finishing behind Republican George Bush, Democrat Michael Dukakis, Ron Paul of the Libertarian Party, and Lenora Fulani of the leftist New Alliance Party. Eugene McCarthy, representing the Consumer Party, came in sixth.[42] Duke and Parker qualified on the ballots of only twelve states for the November election.[43] Not surprisingly, the state from which Duke received the most support was his native Louisiana.[44]

Not to be discouraged, in 1989 Duke successfully pursued a seat as a Louisiana state representative. Running as a Republican, he won a narrow victory over his Republican rival, John Treen, the brother of a former governor, by only 244 votes out of 16,688 that were cast.[45] His campaign focused on standard conservative themes, including opposition to affirmative action, welfare spending, and taxes. During his campaign, many individual members of the Populist Party were important sources of his funding. Moreover, when Duke assumed office, Carto's former legislative director, Trisha Katson, became his legislative aide.[46] His victory was an embarrassment to the Republican Party. The Republican National Chairman, Lee Atwater, called Duke a "charlatan" and attempted to have him censured by the Republican Party. However, Republican leaders in Louisiana later rebuffed Atwater for his interference.[47] While in the Louisiana legislature, Duke sponsored numerous bills against affirmative action and welfare—themes that had significant resonance with numerous mainstream representatives of the Republican Party. Yet it was also reported that neo-Nazi and racist literature was sold out of his legislative office in Metairie.[48]

Despite running as a Republican, Duke maintained ties to the Populist Party. Sometimes this association caused problems for him. For example, while campaigning in 1989, Duke attended a convention of the Populist Party in Chicago, at which he was photographed shaking hands with Art Jones, the vice chairman of the American Nazi Party. A Chicago television reporter, Michael Kirsch, had been tipped off about Jones, and photographed him and Duke together at the convention.[49] The crowd contained a number of skinheads as well. In 1992, Jones ran unsuccessfully for Congress in Illinois' third district. The *Spotlight* praised Jones for "put[ting] America first" during his campaign.[50]

In 1990, Duke ran for the U.S. Senate against incumbent J. Bennett Johnson. In the election, Duke polled a remarkable 44 percent of the votes, including 60 percent of the votes cast by whites. The next year, he made a bid for governor of Louisiana, edging out the incumbent Buddy Roemer and coming in second in a three-way race. Ultimately the former governor, Edwin Edwards, defeated Duke 61 to 39 percent in the general election. Duke's showing was all the more remarkable considering the fact that he faced strong opposition from both the business community and political establishment. What ultimately doomed his campaign was the record black voter turnout.[51] These campaigns drew national attention, thereby helping Duke amass sizable campaign contributions and an extensive mailing list of 30,000 donors.[52]

Duke has been associated with Carto for many years. He once admitted that he was an avid reader of Carto's publications, and claimed that he actually found Carto's introduction to *Imperium* more inspiring than Yockey's book, describing it as "a beautifully written, succinct summary of our struggle for Western mankind."[53] He has attended numerous events sponsored by Liberty Lobby, including the annual IHR conferences in 1983 and 1986.[54] On previous occasions, Duke has rented Liberty Lobby's mailing list so that he could solicit support for his campaigns, and he also ran ads in the *Spotlight*.[55] In 2000, the *Spotlight* praised Duke when he announced the creation of the National Organization for European American Rights (NOFEAR) at the National Press Club in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[56] Duke later renamed group the European-American Rights Organization (EURO).

Duke apparently remains on good terms with Carto to this day. *American Free Press* defended Duke as he was about to enter prison in April 2003 on tax evasion and mail fraud charges, to which he pled guilty.[57] An editorial that appeared in the fall of 2003 depicted Duke as a political prisoner who was being persecuted for his intrepid opposition to Jewish and Zionist power.[58] Three full pages in *American Free Press* were devoted to Duke's book, *Jewish Supremacism*. In a rare display of far right unity, in May 2004 some of the most prominent representatives of the extreme right gathered in New Orleans, Louisiana, for a homecoming for David Duke, following his release from federal prison. *American Free Press* had begun promoting the homecoming event months earlier.[59] Participants at the conference included Don Black of Stormfront, Sam Dickson, Dr. Ed Fields of the *Truth at Last* newspaper, Kevin Alfred Strom of the National Alliance, John Tyndall of the British National Party, Bob Whitaker, Germar Rudolf, Paul Fromm, Edgar Steele, Roy Armstrong of EURO, David Pringle of the National Alliance, and Willis Carto, who gave a speech based on his introduction to Yockey's *Imperium*. At the conference, Duke announced the "New Orleans Protocol," by which the participants would endeavor to work together to achieve common objectives.[60] Reporting on the conference, *American Free Press* urged all activists, both young and old, to put aside their egos and differences so that they could work together on common goals.[61]

Other Notable Populist Party Members

Although the Populist Party eschewed overt racism, numerous racialist activists affiliated themselves with the party. For example, Ralph Forbes, the former western commander of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party, served as Duke's campaign manager for his 1988 presidential campaign.[62] In 1990, Forbes received 46 percent of the primary votes cast in his bid for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor of Arkansas. One month later, however, he lost the run-off election, to a conservative African American candidate, Muskie Harris.[63]

Other activists of the racialist right who were involved with the Populist Party included Will Williams, the leader of the North Carolina Populist Party, who was also active in the National Democratic Front and later in the Church of the Creator.[64] Van Loman, who had been a member of a Klan organization for twenty years, became the state chairman of the Populist Party in Ohio.[65] Jerry Pope, the Populist Party state chairman in Kentucky, was once an organizer of the National States Rights Party.[66] Keith Shive—the self-proclaimed leader of the Farmers' Liberation Army, whom the ADL once described as a "militant anti-Semite"—was also involved in the Populist Party. The chairman of the party in Wisconsin, Joseph Birkenstock, had long been active in the Posse Comitatus group.[67] Colonel Jack Mohr, a long-time Christian Identity activist, volunteered for the Populist Party's Speaking Bureau.[68] At one time, leaders of the California Populist Party included Dennis Hilligoss, a Klan leader from the San Fernando Valley; Joe Fields, a long-time associate of David Duke and Carto; Stan Witek; and Tom Metzger, the founder of White Aryan Resistance (WAR).[69]

Victor Marchetti, a former CIA official and frequent contributor to the *Spotlight*, was also active in the Populist Party. His book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, released in 1974, was a well-received best seller. In August 1984, the *Spotlight* announced that Marchetti had agreed to serve as the advisor to an organization called the American Students for Populism (ASP), which was designated as the official youth organization of the Populist Party.[70] In 1989, Marchetti presented a lecture at the Ninth International Revisionist Conference sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review. His lecture was later published in the *Journal of Historical Review* under the title "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History." Marchetti once published a Japanese-language book titled *ADL and Zionism*, which was written by members of the LaRouche network, Paul Goldstein and Jeffrey Steinberg. He was also the copublisher of the *Zionist Watch* newsletter, which was published by Liberty Lobby.[71]

Several Liberty Lobby staff members have also been involved with the Populist Party, including Lois Peterson, the secretary of the Board of Policy; Trisha Katson, who served as Liberty Lobby's legislative director during the 1980s; and Michael Collins Piper, who briefly served as the party's executive secretary and wrote articles about the party in the *Spotlight*.[72]

Denouement

In addition to internecine conflicts, the Populist Party faced opposition from without. For example, a Washington state anti-racist group—the United Front Against Fascism—held several successful demonstrations in 1989 against the Populist Party, and in doing so prevented the Populists from getting on the ballot in one county.[73]

In addition, the party faced financial problems. For calendar year 1988, the Populist Party reported $108,487.84 in gross receipts and $109,856.76 in total disbursements, thus operation $1,368.92 in the red.[74] To make matters worse, the party got enmeshed in a legal controversy involving federal election regulations, which led to a federal probe. In 1988, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) filed a civil complaint against the Populist Party, Liberty Lobby, the *Spotlight*, and Carto, charging violations against the Federal Election Campaign Act.[75] The FEC investigated to see if the national committee of the Populist Party demonstrated "sufficient activity on a national level to qualify as a national committee of a political party." The FEC concluded that inasmuch as the Populist Party did not run enough candidates for federal office in enough states, it did not qualify as a national committee of a political party.[76]

There followed several court judgments against Carto and the Populist Party. First, on March 22, 1989, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia issued a final consent order and judgment in *FEC v. Populist Party*. According to the terms of the consent order, the court declared that the party and Carto, in his capacity as party treasurer, had violated numerous election laws and regulations, primarily the failure to file reports in a timely fashion and adequately disclose the party's finances. In another decision rendered on May 31, 1991, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia granted an FEC motion to reverse a district court order that had imposed a date by which the FEC had to conclude its investigation of the Populist Party. The appeals court ruled that the district court had exceeded its authority in setting a deadline for the FEC investigation. Finally, on April 20, 1995, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia issued a consent order and judgment against the Populist Party, stating that the defendants had violated the Federal Election Campaign Act by making and accepting corporate and excessive contributions in 1984. The court ordered the defendants to pay a $20,000 civil penalty for these violations. Both Liberty Lobby, Inc., and Cordite Fidelity), Inc. (a holding company that owned the *Spotlight*), were ruled to have violated a federal law, which prohibits the use of corporate money in connection with federal elections insofar as these services amounted to in-kind contributions to the Populist Party. Willis Carto, who served as the director of both corporations, was held to have violated this law by consenting to these transactions.[77]

Despite these setbacks, the Populist Party soldiered on. In March of 1989, the party held a convention at the Bismarck Hotel in downtown Chicago. Carto reached out to some figures not traditionally affiliated with the right, including former Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy, who had sought the Democratic Party's presidential nomination on an antiwar platform in 1968. In a letter to McCarthy in February 1989, Carto commented that he was impressed with the congruence of their views on vital issues.[78] Correspondence between the offices of the two men suggests that McCarthy intended to address a Populist Party meeting.[79] In 1988, McCarthy even granted an interview on Tom Valentine's Radio Free America program, which was sponsored by Liberty Lobby.

Increasingly, a rift developed between Carto and Wassall, and their differences surfaced in a party memorandum. Former Arizona Governor Evan Mecham considered addressing a Populist Party at the convention. Mecham was removed from office in 1988 following conviction in an impeachment trial. However, this prospect occasioned criticism after it became known that David Duke might appear at the same event. Carto later assured Mecham that Duke would not appear, but the governor decided to cancel nonetheless. Paul Gann, billed as a tax expert, was also slated to appear at the convention. According to a memorandum written by Carto, Wassall blamed him for Mecham's cancellation. Carto also disagreed with Wassall's choice of speakers and his leadership approach, as he explained in a memorandum:

> In my view, the present problem has been caused by Don's [Wassall's] rejection of former liberal senator Gene McCarthy, whom I had scheduled to come [to the convention] for nothing. With him and Paul Gann we would have had a combination that would have caused the media's eyes to bug out. It would have been a real coup. And who can possibly fault us for building a bridge to the head of another party which is trying, like us, to get on state ballots. This is a very real issue, and one that Jim Yarbrough has been in constant communication with liberal and leftist parties about. Yet, Don was horrified at this idea. If we had gone with the program I had lined up—Gann, McCarthy, and Duke—none of this would have happened.
>
> Apparently the only speakers that Don wants are those who are hated by the press. It should be self-evident to anyone that if we have a chance to get some press coverage that is not truly vicious, we should enthusiastically seize it. I am genuinely mystified at Don's unsophisticated position.
>
> I am very sad to see that this attempt to create a Populist Party appears to be going the same way as the first. My position has always been clear—and I have repeated this over and over again, particularly to Don, who does not understand it—that our job is to build a party, not to get involved in the same sort of nonsense that has killed every "third" party effort for the past thirty years.
>
> Life is too short for me to put up with deceivers, misleaders and other sorts of yo-yos. This is why I have decided not to serve in any capacity with the party after my term expires with the election of new officers on Sunday.[80]

Carto continued to reach out to Paul Gann by inviting him to address the national committee meeting of the Populist Party, which was held in Chicago on March 4, 1989.[81] He also extended an invitation to Abe L. Austin, of the Freedom Through Truth Foundation, who was regarded as an expert on the money issue from a populist perspective.[82] Both addressed the meeting along with Mike Landis, Tom McIntyre, John Justice, Paul Fisher, Bob Blumetti, David Duke, Carto, Jerry Pope, and Don Wassall.[83]

By July 1989, clear philosophical differences were apparent between Carto and Wassall. Carto criticized Wassall's decision not to reprint in a newsletter an editorial that Carto had penned and published in the *Spotlight*, and in which he had outlined his approach to populism, with its departure from

traditional conservatism so that it would appeal to a more dynamic constituency, most notably, the young.[84] Eventually, Wassall became highly critical of Carto and sought to dissociate the party from the racist onus associated with Carto and Liberty Lobby.[85] He later filed a twenty-five million dollar defamation suit against the *Spotlight* for describing him as a "political nerd." In the ensuing trial, Mark Lane grilled Wassall and got him to admit under oath that he was a heavy marijuana user. He later blamed the criticism he received from the *Spotlight* as the reason why the Populist Party was unable to field a viable presidential candidate in 1992. Dissatisfied with his counsel, Wassall filed a malpractice suit against him and was later awarded a $2.1 million judgment, which he divided with some other party officers.[86]

Bo Gritz became the presidential candidate of Carto's faction of the Populist Party in 1992. His affiliation with the party had been ambiguous, since he tended to distance himself from Wassall and the Populist Party and instead called himself an "America First" candidate. A Mormon convert, Gritz maintained extensive ties with the Christian Patriot/Militia movement and attained national press coverage in August of that same year when he mediated a federal standoff against white separatist Randy Weaver in Ruby Ridge, Idaho.[87] This mediation won Gritz praise from the *Spotlight*, which had previously expressed skepticism about his candidacy.[88] However, Gritz alienated some Christian Patriots when he argued for a states' rights approach to issues such as gambling and prostitution, using his home state, Nevada, as an example. Perhaps to woo back his base, Gritz later became more strident, and even called for the death penalty for homosexuals, invoking the extreme sanction from the Bible.[89] As his affiliations with the radical right became known, Gritz suffered some setbacks. For example, he lost the American Independent Party's ballot line (placement on the ballot) in California, which went instead to Howard Philips of the U.S. Taxpayers' Party.[90] Carto later described Gritz as "a terrible candidate."[91]

In September of 1995, Wassall announced that he was suspending the party's activities, and he later changed the name of the party.[92] In 1995, at its annual convention held in Allentown, Pennsylvania, the Populist Party was rechristened the American Nationalist Union. The name of its organ was changed from the *Populist Observer* to the *Nationalist Times*. Furthermore, the party announced that it would cease to run its own candidates; rather it would support nationalist candidates running as Democrats, Republicans, independents. Speakers at the 1995 convention included William Dannemeier, a former Republican congressman from California, and an activist in the Christian Right; Michael Levin, a Jewish professor at the City College in New York, who has written about the putative intellectual inferiority of blacks; Sam Francis, the late paleoconservative intellectual, who occasionally contributed articles to the *Spotlight*; Jared Taylor, the founder of American Renaissance; the attorney Kirk Lyons; Don Wassall; and militia spokesman Mark Koernke.[93]

In the early 1990s, Carto ended his involvement with the Populist Party. A few years later, Wassall's Populist Party essentially faded away. However, remnants of the party merged with the America First Party on April 15, 2002. This party is based in Pennsylvania and espouses a political platform that could be characterized as social conservatism and economic populism.[94] Party literature lists Dan Charles as its national chairman.[95] Charles was also active in the Colorado Freedom Party and served as the chair of the Reform Party's 2000 national convention committee.[96]

Populist Politics after the Populist Party

After the implosion of the Populist Party, Liberty Lobby continued to endorse populist candidates that ran as independents or under the banner of third parties, such as the Reform Party or the Constitution Party. During the 1992 presidential campaign, Liberty Lobby took a cautious but generally pro-Ross Perot stance. The *Spotlight* sold "Perot for President" bumper stickers and published numerous pro-Perot letters from its readers. However, the newspaper also contained an editorial that was critical of Perot's call for a federal investigation into the Rodney King affair, and it was critical of those of his campaign advisors who had ties to the Council on Foreign Relations.[97] During the 2000 presidential election, Carto scolded Perot for his failure to support Reform Party candidate Pat Buchanan, commenting that Perot was sensitive to complaints from the Jewish community, most notably, from his associate Liener Temerlin, the cofounder of the Temerlin-McCain advertising firm in Dallas.[98]

Ralph Nader, the Green Party's presidential nominee, received words of support in the *Spotlight* as well. Nader's critiques of plutocrats, corporate big wigs, and unresponsive politicians were praised by Liberty Lobby. Nader actually found himself in agreement with much of Buchanan's platform and urged that they both fight to get into the presidential debates so that they could eat into the support of Gore and Bush.[99] Illustrative of his populist orientation, Carto at times spoke highly of Ralph Nader during the 2000 presidential election, as he found common ground with Nader over the widening gap between the rich and the rest of the country. However, Pat Buchanan was the candidate in 2000 whose platform was closest to the positions endorsed by Liberty Lobby.[100] When Nader ran as an independent in 2004, *American Free Press* found merit in his platform, which included a more tempered free trade policy, opposition to the war in Iraq, immigration control, a tough approach to corporate crooks, and electoral reforms.[101] Nader was commended for his independence and courage in standing up to the Israeli lobby. The paper reprinted his open letter to the ADL, in which he accused the Jewish defense organization of slandering and repressing those who made legitimate criticism of Israel.[102] In January 2006, *American Free Press* carried an article by Nader, in which he discussed the rift between the military and its civilian leadership in the Bush administration.[103]

Independent candidates at the state and local level received favorable treatment as well. For example, the *Spotlight* carried excerpts from Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura's State of the State address in 1999.[104] That same year, the *Spotlight* conducted an interview with the new chairman of the Reform Party, Jack Gargan.[105] The *Spotlight* also supported the campaign of Gatewood Galbraith, a self-styled "constitutionalist" and "nationalist," who ran as a Reform Party candidate for governor of Kentucky in 1999.[106] Howard Phillips, the leader of the Constitution Party, was given good publicity in the *Spotlight* for his presidential bid in 2000, as was Michael Peroutka, who led the party ticket in 2004.[107]

However, more than any other candidate in recent history, Liberty Lobby has supported Pat Buchanan. The *Spotlight* was an avid booster of Buchanan in his various presidential campaigns, praising his defense of populism, his advocacy of immigration restrictions, his opposition to free trade, and his cultural conservatism.[108] As Michael Collins Piper once explained, there is a considerable overlap between Pat Buchanan and the more radical elements of the far right, such as David Duke and Liberty Lobby. Buchanan actually held an unpublicized meeting with two representatives of the Populist Party executive committee in early 1991 to learn more about the party and its former principal supporter, Willis Carto.[109] Piper believes that Buchanan wants to avoid the extremist label, and thus is loath to work more closely with Duke and Carto, despite that fact that both of them have occasionally spoken highly of him.[110] At the same time, Buchanan is not without his detractors in Liberty Lobby. A critical article appeared in the *Spotlight* in July 1998, accusing him of robbing the "money, energy, and hope" of well-meaning populists.[111] In 2000, the *Spotlight* published an interview with Charles Collins, a member of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, who sought the Reform Party nomination for the presidency that year. Collins actually criticized Buchanan for attempting to take control over the entire party. Instead, Collins argued that the state organizations should be left intact, and that they should be autonomous.[112] That same issue, however, carried an article that contained advice on how voters could get Buchanan nominated on the Reform Party ticket.[113]

During the 2000 campaign, Buchanan promised to disentangle the United

States from globalist organizations, such as the WTO, the IMF, and the UN. He also pledged to bring U.S. armed forces back to the United States and station them on the border with Mexico, in order to stem the tide of illegal immigration. His overwhelming victory at the Reform Party convention in Long Beach, California, was favorably covered by the *Spotlight*. Efforts by supporters of Buchanan's Reform Party rival, John Hagelin, to deny Buchanan the nomination by organizing a walkout were strongly criticized and attributed to Dror Bar-Sadeh, whom the *Spotlight* suspected was an operative of the Israeli Mossad, with the purported goal of sabotaging the campaign from within. However, Buchanan's choice of a running mate, Ezola Foster—an African American woman—prompted criticism from the more strident segments of the racialist right.[114] In August 2000, Buchanan appeared on the popular Sunday morning news television program "Meet the Press." When host Tim Russert mentioned allegations that his candidacy had received support from Liberty Lobby—an organization that, as Russert pointed out, the ADL had described as the most anti-Semitic organization in the United States—Buchanan refused to condemn the Lobby. Instead, he launched into a spirited rebuke of the ADL, accusing the organization of illegally spying on and smearing those with whom they disagreed on certain issues.[115] That same year, Liberty Lobby released and distributed a small publication in support of his candidacy titled "Buchanan 2000."

Several groups in the racialist right, including Liberty Lobby, the Council of Conservatives, the League of the South, and the American Nationalist Union, endorsed the Buchanan candidacy in 2000, and more than a few of their members actually worked in the campaign. At the center of this effort was Mark Cotterill, an Englishman and leader of an organization known as the American Friends of the British National Party, based in Falls Church, Virginia, and which raised money for its parent organization in the United Kingdom. The result was a civil war of sorts within the Buchanan campaign organization, with stealth representatives of the far right in one camp and Buchanan's sister and campaign manager, Bay Buchanan, in the other. Eventually, Bay Buchanan prevailed and effectively cleaned house at campaign headquarters.[116] As in previous campaigns of viable candidates, such as George Wallace, Buchanan championed issues about which the far right cared deeply. However, members of the extreme right were essentially relegated to "foot soldiers in someone else's army," and they were granted little decisive influence over policy.[117]

Overseas, the *Spotlight* championed "populist" politicians, activists, and parties, including the Russian ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirnovsky, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party; Jean-Marie LePen, the leader of the French National Front; Jörg Haider, the former leader of the Austrian Freedom Party; John Tyndall and Nick Griffin, both of whom have led the British National Party; Christoph Blocher, the leader of the Swiss People's Party; Belarussian President Alexander Lukashenka; and the Vlams Bloc in Belgium. Mahathir Mohammad, the outspoken former prime minister of Malaysia, was supported for his opposition to the IMF and other internationalist schemes. Even Imelda Marcos, the widow of the Filipino president, Ferdinand Marcos, received kind words in the *Spotlight*.

In the mid-2000s, as the Bush administration became increasingly wary of Russian President Vladimir Putin, *American Free Press* came to his defense. Putin's assertion of Russia's national interests were castigated as antidemocratic backsliding by his detractors within the Bush administration.[118] To *America Free Press*, however, Putin appeared to be a genuine nationalist, who refused to submit his country to the demands of the globalists and neoconservatives in the United States. The paper claimed that Putin's crackdown on the "oligarchs"—the wealthiest men in Russia, of whom several are Jewish—was the principal reason that Putin had run afoul of various neoconservatives. The Russian government's refusal to support the U.S. military intervention in Iraq drew the neoconservatives' ire as well. Putin was depicted as a sincere man who had his country's national interests at heart—unlike Boris Yeltsin, who was seen as a drunken buffoon who kowtowed to globalists.

The Populist Action Committee

After his departure from the Populist Party, Carto still sought to find ways to support his favored candidates. To that end, he established the Populist Action Committee in 1990 as a "non-partisan, Constitutionally-oriented, America First PAC dedicated to helping patriots seeking office."[119] Essentially, the Populist Action Committee was a return to the "party-within-a-party" strategy, which favored supporting conservative candidates in the two major parties rather than creating a third party. Numerous figures have served on its advisory board.[120] During the 1990s, Kevin Kreider served as its director.[121] Perhaps the committee's strategy has been more feasible than that of the party itself, given the formidable obstacles to creating a viable third party in the United States. Since the ratification of the United States Constitution in 1789, there have been only twenty-eight years during which there was not a two-party system. And since 1856, the United States has had nothing but a two-party system. For a variety of reasons, it is difficult to introduce and operate a viable third party in the United States.[122] Thus, it may well be more practical to work within the two-party system. Even a popular figure like Ross Perot, who spent a considerable amount of his own wealth, was not able to sustain a viable third party.

Another drawback to Carto's Populist Party strategy was that it had had limited appeal beyond rural areas. As the late sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset observed, rural communities are the traditional base of right-wing extremism in the United States. Therefore, the increasing urbanization of America has led to a concomitant shrinkage of the extreme right's regional base.[123]

Despite the numerous setbacks he experienced with the Populist Party, Carto remains upbeat on the future of populism:

> The left and right bridge has to be surmounted and it is being surmounted. I mean, I don't have to tell you about the demonstrations all over the world [against the World Trade Organization]. The left is desperately afraid of [globalization], for their own reasons, which really overlaps with our reasons . . . . They're against it. We're against it. And we're cooperating with them every way that we can. Of course the left has the image that the ADL has been so successful in [inculcating, and are] trying to scare them away from us, from the right . . . . Populism has certain ideas, certain values, certain issues that the left and right can both support and they can bridge this gap. If that can happen, or I say, when that happens, because it is going to happen, why there will be a whole different political complexion in this country.[124]

Carto's hopes for a populist resurgence were renewed in the 1990s with the emergence of the Christian Patriot/Militia movement. Liberty Lobby would prove to be a focal point of this movement.

15

The Rise and Decline of the Christian Patriot/Militia Movement

Background: The Reagan Years

To most political observers, Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential electoral victory ushered in a new era of conservative politics in America. Ironically, concomitant with his political ascendance was an increasing marginalization of the far right, whose ideology was relegated beyond the pale of acceptable discourse. At the end of the Carter Administration, the *Spotlight* attained its peak circulation, estimated at 330,000. However, by the late 1980s, the *Spotlight's* circulation was listed as 150,000, according to reports filed with the U.S. Postal Service.[1] According to Michael Collins Piper, by 2000 its circulation was roughly 50,000.[2] This reduction in readership can be explained in large part by the fact that the *Spotlight* mainly appeals to an elderly audience. Thus, over the years there has been a process of attrition, as younger readers have failed to replace those who have died. Perhaps more important, as Carto has noted, the Reagan presidency contributed to a sense of complacency in the conservative movement: "All of the conservative groups in Washington suffered because people thought that Ronnie was going to take care of everything. And so the subscription [base of the *Spotlight*] went south."[3]

Carto has long been critical of Ronald Reagan. Liberty Lobby published a highly critical book on Reagan in 1976, which one observer suggested may have deflected enough Republican votes so that Gerald Ford won the party nomination.[4] Nor did Carto welcome Reagan's electoral victory four years later. Although the Reagan administration's strong position against Communism was endorsed by Liberty Lobby, the latter took issue with Reagan's strong support for Israel. According to Carto, the foreign policy of the Reagan administration was guided by "dual loyalists and traitors," including Richard Perle, Fred Ilkle, and Stephen Bryen.[5] The *Spotlight* argued that Israeli influence contaminated other areas of American foreign policy as well. For example, although Liberty Lobby agreed with Reagan's policy of containing Communism in Latin America and had no sympathy for the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, it opposed aid to the "drug-smuggling, Israeli-trained contras."

By the early 1980s, Liberty Lobby had openly distanced itself from the Reagan administration. Increasingly, Liberty Lobby eschewed respectable conservatism and positioned itself as a populist institution and even reached out to some leftists.[6] More and more, the far right was estranged from mainstream conservatism. The farm crisis of the 1980s furthered this split with the mainstream, as exemplified by Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus.

Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus

The farm crisis of the mid-1980s provided a seedbed for right-wing extremism in America's heartland. One of the more prominent organizations in that part of the country was the Posse Comitatus, a militia-style group founded in 1969 by Henry L. Beach, a retired dry-cleaner, and William Potter Gale, a retired Army colonel in Portland, Oregon.[7] The organization espoused radical decentralization and antistatism, as exemplified by its name, which implies that there is no legitimate form of government beyond the county level. According to this reasoning, the county sheriff was the supreme law of the land. This loose-knit organization attracted a disparate assortment of tax protesters, racists, and antigovernment extremists. Despite its occasionally bombastic rhetoric, the Posse initially posed only a minor irritant to authorities. However, that changed on February 13, 1983, when a Posse affiliate and radical tax protestor, Gordon Kahl, became embroiled in a confrontation with federal authorities in Medina, North Dakota. A group of lawmen sought to serve Kahl a warrant for tax violations. Extremely distrustful of authorities, Kahl refused to be served and a shootout ensued, in which two marshals died and four others were wounded, including Kahl's son Yorie. Amazingly, Kahl, a 63-year-old farmer and World War II veteran, had single-handedly caused the authorities to retreat.

For about four months, Kahl evaded authorities, but on June 3, 1983, they finally caught up with him in Lawrence County, Arkansas. Still defiant, Kahl managed to mortally wound a local sheriff, who also happened to fire a fatal shot, which struck Kahl in the head. Not realizing that Kahl was dead, the lawmen attempted to force Kahl outside of his bunker dwelling by pouring fuel down the chimney. The structure went up in flames and sparked rumors that the FBI had summarily executed Kahl, then incinerated his corpse and murdered the slain sheriff to cover up the truth.[8]

Over the years, Carto's publications have championed Gordon Kahl. According to *American Free Press*, federal law enforcement authorities carried out what amounted to a deliberate execution of Gordon Kahl in order to silence him.[9] A June 2003 issue of the paper carried a four-page "press release" that included Kahl's "final affidavit," in which he expounded on his political and theological reasons for tax rebellion.[10] His son, Yorie, who is still incarcerated in a federal facility, is often depicted as a political prisoner who was convicted on dubious evidence.[11] Kahl's widow, Joan, has been a guest speaker at events sponsored by Liberty Lobby and *American Free Press*.

As a result of his dramatic demise, Kahl entered the far right's pantheon of martyrs. Kahl's death became the catalyst and a call to arms for an underground right-wing terrorist group called The Order.

The Campaign of the Order

In the summer of 1983, shortly after the death of Gordon Kahl, an annual Aryan Nations Congress was held at the group's compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho. At that meeting, a young charismatic member of the National Alliance, Robert Jay Mathews, proposed the creation of an underground resistance group to avenge the death of Kahl. Mathews had considerable powers of persuasion and was able to ultimately draw nearly fifty members into his clandestine terrorist group, The Order.[12]

Mathews drew much inspiration for the formation of his organization from a novel, *The Turner Diaries*, written by his ideological mentor, Dr. William Pierce (under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald), the chairman of the National Alliance. So enamored was he of the book, Mathews made it required reading for all Order members. It is perhaps the most widely read book in the subterranean world of the far right and has sold approximately 350,000 copies—an amazing figure for an underground book.[13] Abandoning all hope of legal or political action, Mathews endeavored to build a clandestine resistance group that would go on a crime spree and a terrorist campaign, gaining nationwide notoriety, and including counterfeiting, armored car heists, bank robberies, and four homicides.[14] In a milieu in which far right terrorists often have more resemblance to "the gang that couldn't shoot straight" than to professional terrorists, the exploits of the Order were electrifying. One armored car heist took in a whopping $3.6 million—a record in 1984 for the largest amount of money ever stolen in such a robbery.

Although The Order was racist and anti-Semitic, it gave its highest priority to targets such as the state and other prominent institutions. Mathews instructed Order members to avoid petty conflicts with racial minorities, since that would only distract the group from its primary mission. A list of prominent enemies marked for assassination was compiled, which included the leader of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Morris Dees; the former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger; banker David Rockefeller; television producer Norman Lear; and international financier Baron Elie de Rothschild.[15] These high-profile targets notwithstanding, The Order settled for a Denver-based Jewish disc jockey, Alan Berg, as its first target for assassination. An acerbic talk radio host, Berg frequently berated far right callers on his radio program. On June 18, 1984, Berg was shot thirteen times in the driveway of his home as he exited his Volkswagen Beetle.

To be expected, The Order's exploits soon caught the attention of authorities, and the FBI identified the group as the most serious domestic terrorist threat in the country.[16] Ultimately, a counterfeiting operation led to the group's demise, as one of its recruits (though not an official member), Tom Martinez, agreed to become an informant for the FBI after his arrest for passing counterfeit money that The Order had printed. Martinez set up two of his colleagues, including Mathews, in a sting operation at a hotel. A shootout ensued, and Mathews escaped after wounding an officer. He remained undaunted and issued a "Declaration of War" against the United States government, which he sent to several newspapers. Finally, authorities caught up with Mathews at Whidbey Island in Washington state. Refusing to be taken alive, Mathews resisted in a standoff that lasted two days, single-handedly engaging in several shootouts with SWAT teams. Eventually, the authorities lost their patience, and on December 8, 1984, dropped white phosphorous illumination flares onto the roof of the house in which Mathews had barricaded himself. This ignited a fire that engulfed the structure, and Mathews perished in dramatic fashion. A concerted effort by federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies eventually crushed The Order, and many of its members are now serving lengthy prison sentences.

The Order's campaign caught many in the radical right by surprise. Some criticized their exploits as ineffectual and quixotic, while others lionized them as exemplary "Aryan warriors." Incarcerated members of the group have been hailed as POWs, and their prison addresses are listed in far right publications so that readers can provide material and moral support to them and their families. Tactically, The Order did not really achieve much, yet it was significant insofar as it marked a change in the orientation of the far right. The United States government was now seen as the enemy, and the far right began to take on a more revolutionary posture. No longer did it seek to accommodate itself to the status quo. Rather, it now sought the overthrow of the U.S. government, which it reasoned was under the heel of ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government).

On a more practical level, The Order distributed much of its stolen money to "above ground" far right organizations around the country. It hoped that the stolen money could be used as "mortar" to cement the fragmentary elements of the racialist right.[17] For example, Robert Jay Mathews disbursed $200,000 to Glen Miller for his White Patriots Party, which was active in North Carolina during the 1980s. Matthews is also alleged to have donated $250,000 to Tom Metzger and WAR (White Aryan Resistance).[18] More important, it is strongly suspected that Mathews also gave Dr. Pierce of the National Alliance a substantial amount of money. If this is the case, then it enabled Pierce to establish his National Alliance on a solid footing and relocate it to West Virginia. In this way, The Order would have significantly contributed to the success of one of the most important organizations in the revolutionary right today.[19]

In a private conversation, Carto expressed sympathy for The Order. He believed that its members meant well, but that their methods were not appropriate given current political and social conditions. In May 2003, Carto showed me a letter that he had recently received from David Lane, an imprisoned member of The Order. Lane's tone was rather deferential to Carto. For his part, Carto expressed admiration for Lane. Lane was also featured in the June 5, 1995, issue of the *Spotlight*.[20]

The Order's campaign was illustrative of a revolutionary trend in the far right, which increasingly viewed the U.S. government as an enemy, not as an institution to which they owed loyalty. This theme continued in the militia movement that emerged in the early 1990s.

The Rise of the Christian Patriot/Militia Movement

The contemporary militia movement came about after a series of events that took place in the early 1990s. First, there was the Ruby Ridge incident, which occurred in 1992 when federal law enforcement officers ambushed the home of Randy Weaver, a white separatist living in the desolate hills of Idaho. Weaver's young son, Sammy, and wife, Vicki, as well as a deputy of the U.S. Marshal's Service, Bill Degan, were killed in what many observers believe was a badly botched operation by the federal government. This was followed in October of that same year by a meeting in Estes Park, Colorado, convened by a Christian Identity minister, Pete Peters. According to some accounts, this event laid the groundwork for the contemporary militia movement by urging right-wing activists to organize militias at their local levels. Weaver was sympathetically portrayed as a man who just wanted to be left alone, but who, nevertheless, could not escape the repression of the federal government. At that convention, Louis Beam released an influential tract called "Leaderless Resistance," in which he counseled against armed struggle in any kind of large-group context. Rather, Beam argued that right-wing militants should resist the government individually or in very small groups.[21] During the 1990s, this approach attained popularity in the far right. Liberty Lobby carried favorable stories on Weaver and promoted an antigovernment account of the incident, which was published as a book titled *The Federal Siege at Ruby Ridge*.[22]

The Waco incident in 1993 further compounded resentment within the Patriot movement. The *Spotlight* blamed the ADL for the tragedy at Waco, claiming that the monitoring group had tricked federal authorities into the operation, which resulted in the loss of many lives. The *Spotlight* blamed the federal government for the fiasco as well. The final catalyst, however, was the Brady Bill, which Congress passed in that same year, raising fears that the Second Amendment would be weakened. Soon after, the Militia of Montana and the Michigan Militia were formed. The idea caught on in large part due to such technologies as facsimile machines and the Internet. It was not long before militia-style organizations began appearing around the nation.

The far right has often been described as authoritarian and antidemocratic. However, militia activists often tend to be Constitutional fundamentalists, who believe in the strict letter of the law, and never tire of explaining how the Constitution is under threat by an encroaching federal government. In this regard, militias espouse a traditional theme of American antistatism. A sense of history suffuses the militia movement. The American Revolution figures prominently in its mythos and is a source of great inspiration. The contemporary Patriot movement, though, is far from monolithic. Besides the self-styled militia activists, it contains tax protestors, radical libertarians, Second Amendment advocates, and a wide array of conspiracy theorists that warn of an impending new world order.

Popularizing Conspiracy Theories

The notion of a new world order looms large in the discourse of the militia movement. However, there seems to be quite a number of variations to this theory, and the details are often murky. For example, some believe that the new world order stems from machinations of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. Others point to the United Nations apparatus. Various supranational organizations (e.g., NATO) and international treaties (e.g., NAFTA) are also cited as part of the new world order scheme. It is worth mentioning that references to the new world order can be found in mainstream organs as well, such as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Economist*. However, mainstream commentators lean towards a more structural theory, in which various conditions (e.g., technological and demographic changes) are cited to explain this phenomenon. Militia activists, on the other hand, are more likely to believe that it is the result of a well-coordinated conspiracy directed by a hidden cabal, which seeks to undermine national sovereignty and individual liberty. People from outside the movement sometimes criticize militia leaders for manipulating credulous members and alarming them with fantastic conspiracy theories, including warnings of Y2K chaos, the presence of UN troops on American territory, covert detention camps for American dissidents, and weather manipulation by the government. Through the *Spotlight*, Liberty Lobby has played an important, unifying role in this respect within the militia movement.[23] During the 1990s, the *Spotlight* was the foremost purveyor of conspiracy theories in the radical right milieu, carrying stories about black helicopters spying on Americans and the presence of foreign military equipment caches on U.S. soil.[24]

To be expected, Liberty Lobby refused to accept the official versions of several high-profile confrontations between federal law enforcement agencies on the one hand and anti-government dissidents on the other. For example, a *Spotlight* story reported that a unit of the elite U.S. Special Forces might have positioned explosive devices inside the Branch Davidian church in Waco, Texas. Retired U.S. Special Forces Sergeant Steven Barry told the *Spotlight* that he was certain that charges were deployed by U.S. soldiers, since the destruction of the structure was consistent with the use of such explosive devices. He provided sworn depositions for attorneys representing survivors of the Branch Davidians in a wrongful death suit against the government.[25] Furthermore, the *Spotlight* reported that the Texas Rangers discovered numerous cartridge casings bearing an "IMI" stamp, standing for "Israeli Military Industries," thus suggesting that Israeli forces participated in the raid as well.[26] To make matters worse, it was alleged that the subsequent accidental deaths of four U.S. Army Special Operations soldiers with possible links to the siege might have been the result of a government effort to stifle whistleblowers.[27]

The FBI relied on various watchdogs for advice during the siege at Waco. Most important was the Cult Awareness Network (CAN), a controversial organization that specialized in "deprogramming" youths who had joined cults. CAN occasionally monitored right-wing extremist groups as well.[28] Subsequent investigations revealed that it was Rick Ross, a deprogrammer working for CAN, who first went to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) with stories of alleged sexual child abuse and firearms-law violations among the Brach Davidians. Ross had elicited this information from a former Davidian member whom he had deprogrammed in 1992.[29] During the siege, Ross consulted with both BATF and the FBI.[30] However, Ross was far from unbiased. An FBI report for the Department of Justice described him as person that had "a personal hatred for all religious cults" and would help any law enforcement effort "to destroy a cult."[31] The ADL also supplied information on the Davidian cult to authorities, but little is known of its substance or on what effect it had on the decisions that were made. According to the *Spotlight*, Herb Brin, allegedly a supporter of the ADL, wrote a story that was originally reported in the *Heritage Southwest Jewish Press* on April 16, just a few days prior to the final raid on April 19, 1993. The story praised the efforts of the ADL for supplying federal authorities with information about Koresh's group.[32] The *Spotlight* picked up on the article and, based on that alone, claimed that the ADL had instigated the tragic raid. This was mostly conjecture, however, with little evidence to support the claim.[33] At first, it may seem odd that the ADL would take an interest in the Branch Davidians, since it was multiracial and generally philo-Semitic. However, some Jewish parents have requested help in tracking down children who have joined cults. In fact, Jewish parents contributed to the creation of several of the anticult groups founded in the 1970s.[34]

One notable feature of the militia movement is its proclivity for confrontation with authorities. To the militias' detriment, the authorities have demonstrated resolute action in responding to those activists who run afoul of the law, as evidenced by the stiff sentences handed down to members of the Montana Freemen. Furthermore, the militia movement has faced stiff opposition from both the ADL and the Southern Poverty Law Center, which have issued several critical reports on militias and forwarded information to law enforcement authorities.[35]

Despite this opposition, the militia movement has occasionally found a sympathetic ear among politicians. For example, Congresswoman Helen Chenowith of Idaho and Congressman Steve Stockman of Texas have sometimes voiced support for some of the movement's positions.[36] Chenowith once even issued a press release about the use of black helicopters, purportedly being used by the federal government to enforce the Endangered Species Act, and other violations that she said contravened the Idaho state constitution.[37] Stockman once appeared as a guest on a Liberty Lobby radio program.[38] Several elected officials at the state level have also voiced support for the Patriot movement, including Republican California State Senator Don Rogers and Republican Colorado State Senator Charles Duke.[39]

Liberty Lobby and the *Spotlight* developed links to the militia movement, most notably, the Militia of Montana, and featured sympathetic stories on the organization.[40] For his part, Militia of Montana leader John Trochmann once proclaimed at a Liberty Lobby conference, "Thank God for the *Spotlight*," and he visited the Lobby's building with Bob Fletcher for an interview with the newspaper.[41] Larry Pratt, the leader of Gun Owners of America, has been favorably featured in the *Spotlight* as well.[42]

On the other hand, the *Spotlight* has held some members of the militia movement at arm's length. For example, in September, 1994, the *Spotlight* encouraged its readers to stay clear of militia leader Linda Thompson's planned march on Washington, in which she allegedly planned to arrest certain members of Congress for failing to uphold their oaths of office.[43] Arguably, the principal reason for the decline of the Christian Patriot movement has been the negative public perception of its association with the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. As we shall see, Liberty Lobby had an odd connection to this tragedy.

The Oklahoma City Bombing

Timothy McVeigh exemplified the "lone wolf" terrorist who acted on his own without guidance from any organization or leader. After the demise of The Order, some of the more radical members of the extreme right came to the conclusion that resistance in any kind of group context was futile. Consequently, the violence-prone far right now favors an approach known as "leaderless resistance," a kind of lone wolf operation in which an individual, or a very small cohesive group, engage in acts of violence independent of any official movement, leader, or network of support.[44] Inasmuch as the contemporary far right is organizationally fragmented, leaderless resistance makes a virtue out of necessity. Over the past decade the leaderless approach has indeed gained much popularity in the far right. Indeed even the Liberty Lobby, which generally caters to an older audience, once released a publication on the subject.[45]

On April 19, 1995, two years to the day after the culmination of the Waco tragedy, the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was bombed, leaving 169 dead and many others wounded. This attack was the most lethal act of terrorism perpetrated on American soil prior to 9/11. The subsequent investigation focused on Timothy McVeigh as the chief culprit in the attack. He had accomplices, including Terry Nichols and Michael Fortier; however, the scope of their involvement is still uncertain. McVeigh and Nichols are reported to have attended meetings of the Michigan Militia, but the group did not welcome them. To the contrary, members of the group thought they were loose cannons and should not be granted membership.[46] In the FBI's own description, "one of its most extensive investigations" failed to turn up a significant militia connection to the bombing.

It is interesting to note how the radical right responded to the Oklahoma City bombing. Although McVeigh was usually depicted as a fellow traveler of the militia movement, apparently no militia leader has publicly condoned the attack. Indeed, just the opposite is true. Quite often, militia leaders blamed the attack on a government conspiracy. By contrast, the racialist right seemed less likely to ascribe the attack to some larger conspiracy involving the government or others.

Despite one of the most thoroughgoing investigations in the FBI's history, some observers believe that there are important questions about the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing that have been left unanswered. Notwithstanding McVeigh's own denials, which were published not long before his execution, rumors have persisted that the Oklahoma City bombing had an Islamic connection. Stephen Jones, McVeigh's defense attorney, is one of the main proponents of this theory.[47] The linchpin that connects the various parties in this theory is McVeigh's accomplice, Terry Nichols. There is speculation that Nichols may have met with Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, during a visit to the Philippines.[48] Jones spent months investigating a possible Filipino link to the Oklahoma City bombing and concluded that Ramzi Yousef's close friend and conspirator, Wali Khan Amin Shah, knew Nichols' wife, Marife, and her sister through a mutual friend.[49] British journalist Simon Reeve noted that Nichols visited the Philippines in 1994—around the same time that Yousef had resided there.[50] In mid-November 1994, Nichols left for the Philippines to spend time with his Filipino mail-order bride, Marife, who lived in a boarding house in Cebu, in which a large number of Muslim students also resided. According to a motion filed by McVeigh's defense team, an American fitting Nichol's description met with Yousef in the Philippines in 1992 or 1993.[51] Furthermore, a senior member of the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group, Edwin Angeles, claimed under interrogation by Filipino authorities that he had met Yousef together with Nichols, and that he had known Nichols only as "the Farmer." Allegedly, Angeles claimed that Nichols and Yousef met to discuss bombing-making techniques and the procurement of firearms and ammunitions.

Jayna Davis, a former reporter for KFOR-TV in Oklahoma City, has also researched the case and come to the conclusion that the Iraqi government was involved in the 1995 attack. After an investigation to which she has devoted several years, Davis postulates that a Middle East terrorist cell was in operation only blocks from the federal building. Allegedly, an Iraqi national, Hussain Hashem al-Hussaini, who served in Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard, was in contact with McVeigh on April 19, 1995, and also on the days leading up to the bombing.[52] Shortly after the attack, the FBI released sketches of "John Doe 2," who had swarthy, perhaps even Middle Eastern, ethnic features. To buttress her assertions, Davis interviewed numerous witnesses that have identified al-Hussaini as McVeigh's associate and possible accomplice. Davis' investigation uncovered that al-Hussaini entered the United States in 1994 as an Iraqi defector from Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime. Al-Hussaini claims to have been persecuted by the Iraqi government for distributing antigovernment leaflets.[53]

Adding to these suspicions was the fact that, in the time before the bombing, Oklahoma City was a hotbed for Islamist activities, including meetings and conventions for groups connected to Hamas and Hezbollah.[54] Drawing on intelligence reports supplied to her from Yossef Bodansky, the executive director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare, Davis claimed that Iraqi intelligence sought "lily whites," that is, potential operatives whose backgrounds would not tie them to terrorism, for training.[55] However, most government intelligence officials remain unconvinced. Former CIA chief of counterterrorism, Vince Cannistraro, referred to Davis's dossier as "total bullshit."[56]

At one point, the *Spotlight* actually supported the notion that there could have been an "Arab" connection to the bombing. However, this connection, according to the article, was more than likely directed by the Israeli Mossad in an effort to implicate its nemesis Saddam Hussein in a major terrorist attack on American soil.[57] Later, *American Free Press* suggested that Davis had been duped into believing that Arabs were behind the attack, when a more convincing case could be made for Israeli complicity. Further, the article accused several neoconservatives and Jews in the media for hyping her theory in order to foster a public perception that Saddam Hussein was behind the attack, thus justifying the most recent war on Iraq.[58]

For his part, McVeigh dismissed the theory of an Islamic connection as "nonsense" and a "red herring."[59] According to the statements he made near the end of his life, there was no larger conspiracy, and the government's version was correct after all. Still there remains the chance that he may have been covering for accomplices, and therefore might not have been entirely truthful about what happened. Furthermore, the 1995 federal grand jury indictment proclaimed that McVeigh and Nichols had acted with "others unknown."[60] Perhaps the main reason that the Oklahoma City bombing has remained a question mark for some terrorism analysts is the sheer magnitude of the attack; previous episodes of right-wing violence and terrorism were usually marked by extreme ineptitude. Moreover, the modus operandi of the April 19, 1995, attack is consistent with the type of terrorism conducted by Middle Eastern groups, most notably, Hezbollah.

The *Spotlight* has consistently maintained the U.S. government played some role in the Oklahoma City bombing.[61] Liberty Lobby has sold and promoted books that allege a government conspiracy in the tragedy. An interview with David Hoffmann—the author of *The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Politics of Terror*, a book that wove an intricate conspiracy theory involving plutocrats, the ADL, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and rogue elements of U.S. intelligence agencies—appeared in the *Spotlight* along with a favorable review.[62]

In the spring of 2005, *American Free Press* propounded a theory of the Oklahoma City bombing that implicated Gary Gagan—a federal informant currently serving a life sentence unrelated to the bombing—and two men presumably of Arab descent, "Omar" and "Ahmad." Gagan believed that the two Arab men were associated with a Colombian drug ring. At their request, he traveled to Mexico City to take delivery of timers and detonators that he smuggled back to the United States. These materials were supposedly used in the construction of the bomb that devastated the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.[63] However, the very next issue of *American Free Press* blamed another alleged federal informant, Roger Moore, for supplying the bomb-making materials to McVeigh's accomplice, Terry Nichols, who supposedly attempted to expose the FBI in the scheme by leaking the information prior to the bombing.[64] McVeigh was supposed to have confided in Nichols that he had stolen guns from Moore in an armed robbery of his home on November 5, 1994.[65]

There were some interesting connections between Liberty Lobby and the Oklahoma City bombing. For example, Timothy McVeigh was an avid reader of "Patriot" literature including the *Spotlight*, which, it is believed, was actually his first choice for news.[66] During the early 1990s, when he worked as a security guard for Burns, McVeigh liked to distribute copies of the newspaper to his co-workers.[67]

Michael Collins Piper, a journalist for the *Spotlight* and later for *American Free Press*, believes that there was a deliberate effort to implicate Liberty Lobby in the tragedy. The ADL, according to Piper, had been closely shadowing McVeigh prior to the attack. An article in the *Spotlight* charged that the Anti-Defamation League had an inside source close to McVeigh and, thus, had foreknowledge of the April 19, 1995, attack.[68]

McVeigh occasionally used the classified section of the *Spotlight* to purchase and advertise items. What Piper found suspicious was that the ADL issued a press release not long after the bombing, which announced that McVeigh had taken out advertisements under an assumed name. On April 27, 1995, the ADL issued a press release in which it reported that McVeigh, under the alias "T. Tuttle," had run advertisements for the sale of a military-style antitank launcher (which would actually fire 37mm flares) in the August 9, 1993, edition of the *Spotlight*.[69] The ad was supposed to run for four consecutive issues of the *Spotlight*, starting with the August 9 edition. However, the ad did not run until one week later, in the August 16, 1993, issue of the newspaper, due a scheduling conflict. According to Piper, a story appeared

in the morning edition of the April 21, 1995, edition of the *Washington Post*, based on information in an ADL press release. Piper questions how the ADL knew that McVeigh had intended to advertise in the August 9, issue of the *Spotlight* if the ad was not carried that week. He concludes that the ADL was aware of McVeigh prior to the bombing and thus knew that he originally sought to advertise in the August 9 issue.

In another instance, in November 1993, McVeigh used a prepaid phone card, which he had obtained from the *Spotlight* using the assumed name "Daryl Bridges."[70] According to the FBI, he and Terry Nichols used the card to make calls in search of fertilizer companies from which to purchase materials to be used in a bomb.[71] McVeigh used the card to spare Michael Fortier the expense of long distance phone calls.[72] However, in doing so, he created a damaging trail of corroborative evidence against himself.[73] In a strange incident, an employee of Liberty Lobby received a phone call from someone claiming to be Bridges. The caller requested that the Liberty Lobby employee use the registered calling card to verify that the card was working. According to Piper, the FBI then tried to use this information as evidence against Liberty Lobby.[74]

Yet another interesting twist to the story occurred on April 20, 1995, when Liberty Lobby office received an envelope, which was postmarked April 17, 1995—just two days before the attack. Inside the envelope was a postcard, which was a famous Depression era photograph known as "Black Sunday" that depicted a dust storm approaching Oklahoma. The same envelope contained an article on Gordon Kahl, the Posse Comitatus member responsible for killing a federal marshal before being tracked down and killed in a standoff months later. Piper surmises that this was a deliberate effort to create a right-wing angle to the bombing, and that Liberty Lobby was being framed as an integral part of this right-wing conspiracy. Upon advice of counsel, Mark Lane, Liberty Lobby turned the postcard over to the FBI, which later claimed to have "lost it."[75]

Piper conjectures that an attorney, Kirk Lyons, and a German national who traveled in far right circles, Andrea Strassmeir, were agents provocateurs in this matter. Lyons has long been a staunch defender of far right defendants in the courtroom.[76] According to statements by McVeigh, he had contacted Elohim City (an encampment where some right-wing extremists lived in a communal setting in Adair County, Oklahoma, near the Arkansas border) in an effort to search for a prospective hideout, but not to enlist the help of others in the commission of his terrorist act. In fact, McVeigh was calling for Andreas Strassmeir, whom he had met at a gun show. Strassmeir's grandfather was supposedly an early Nazi Party member during Hitler's quest for power in Germany. Rumors circulated that Strassmeir was a German intelligence agent who was working with American authorities as part of a conspiracy to bomb the Murrah federal building and blame innocent people in the far right.[77] To make his case, Piper pointed out that Carol Howe, a former informant for the BATF, claimed that Strassmeir was in regular contact with Timothy McVeigh.[78] The *Spotlight* claimed that Lyons was out to destroy Liberty Lobby, and that he had collaborated with Don Wassall, who had fallen out with Carto during the days of the Populist Party.[79]

Later, Piper said that Strassmeir had been working as an informant for the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a monitoring organization that has bankrupted several extreme right organizations through an innovative application of civil suits in which leaders are held responsible for the violent actions of their members.[80] According to Piper, two independent investigators—J. D. Cash and former Marine Lt. Col. Roger Charles—discovered evidence from a declassified 1996 FBI document in which then FBI director Louis Freeh made a reference to an SPLC informant being in place in the Elohim City compound. Although Strassmeir was not named in the document, Piper pointed out that McVeigh had made a telephone call to Elohim City seeking to contact Strassmeir. Piper maintains that this document, along with other evidence, suggests that Strassmeir was an informant for both the SPLC and the U.S. government.[81]

Liberty Lobby publications have presented several other theories that seek to debunk the government's official version of the Oklahoma City bombing. In 1999, former Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key wrote an article for the *Spotlight* in which he accused the federal government of covering up important details of the attack. Furthermore, he suggested that there might have been a Middle Eastern connection to the bombing.[82] Louis Beam, a scion of the extreme right, who popularized "leaderless resistance," suspected that the government was behind the attack, reasoning that it gave authorities the opportunity to create more intrusive measures against patriots.[83] According to one interpretation, this would account for the Effective Death Penalty and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1996, which Congress passed not long after the bombing.

Ultimately the *Spotlight*'s tendency to present so many versions of conspiracy theories of certain events—such as, in this case, the Oklahoma City bombing—seems to militate against their credibility, as they are often contradictory and mutually exclusive. What is more, the reader is often left in the unenviable position of trying to determine which version is correct. This tendency has occasioned criticism among other observers in the far right, who question the seriousness of the paper.[84]

Through the various conferences that he sponsors, Carto has provided venues at which conspiracy theorists can find a receptive audience. Ted Gunderson, a retired Special Agent-in-Charge for Los Angeles who spent 27 years in the FBI, has occasionally addressed Liberty Lobby functions. A purveyor of some of the most outlandish conspiracy theories, Gunderson has been very critical of some of the FBI's operations including repression of some "patriot" dissidents. Not long after the Oklahoma City bombing, the FBI began an outreach program to militia organizations, which was intended to allay suspicion on both sides.[85] This initiative was supposed to give the FBI an idea of which organizations were actually prone to criminal behavior. Gunderson criticized the program, stating that the FBI would only benefit and give the agency opportunity to learn the identities of militia members.[86] In early 2006, he claimed that he was possibly being poisoned in retaliation for his effort to investigate and expose cults in the United States. He suspected that U.S. government "covert assets" were responsible for the alleged poisoning.[87]

Despite its sensationalistic style, the *Spotlight* took substantive positions on numerous policy issues during the 1990s. In an effort to influence Congress, Liberty Lobby sent out a newsletter to all 535 members of the U.S. Congress in June 1988 and offered them a free subscription to the *Spotlight*.[88] The 1999 Liberty Ledger listed the top legislative issues that concerned Liberty Lobby. In the area of foreign policy, Liberty Lobby opposed military action against Serbia and called for the return of U.S. troops from the Balkans. Foreign aid frequently came under fire as well.[89] Liberty Lobby opposed the normalization of trade with Red China but supported a measure that would reduce steel imports into the United States, thus protecting U.S. jobs and industry. On domestic issues, Liberty Lobby opposed a congressional pay raise as well as a gun control measure that would require background checks at gun shows.[90] Politicians, such as Charles Schumer (D-NY), were criticized for trying to capitalize on school shootings as a way to mount support for stricter gun control measures.[91]

Not surprisingly, the Clinton administration frequently came under fire, as the *Spotlight* carried numerous lurid stories that accused the president of malfeasance. Stories alleging that the White House was behind the strange death of Clinton advisor Vince Foster were given coverage in the tabloid.[92] Both Bill and Hillary Clinton were accused of being longtime CIA assets, with involvement in the Iran-Contra affair, subversive activities at Oxford (while Bill Clinton was a Rhodes scholar), and participation in the Watergate investigation (Hillary served on the staff of the House Watergate Committee).[93] Sordid details of Bill Clinton's private life were often aired in the *Spotlight*.[94] His impeachment was supported by Liberty Lobby. In order to disseminate his conspiracy theories and public policy positions, Carto further developed his multimedia apparatus.

Radio Programs

Despite setbacks that Carto had experienced with his earlier venture into radio (as covered in chapter 11), he returned to this medium in the late 1980s. However, this time he utilized both short-wave and satellite radio, whose fields were more open. In July 1988, Liberty Lobby purchased a significant interest in the Kayla Satellite Broadcasting Network of Richland Center, which was founded in 1986 by Larry D. Wyman, a former sheriff of Richland County, Wisconsin.[95] The network is better known by the name "North America One," and it transmits radio programs that can be received by satellite dish owners throughout North America. The network's programming included Liberty Lobby's talk show "Radio Free America," hosted by Tom Valentine. Broadcast on satellite radio, "Radio Free America" is considered to be the longest-running program of its kind in America.[96] By the late 1990s, the program was aired on approximately thirty-four radio stations throughout the United States.[97] Additionally, World Wide Christian Radio, a 100,000-watt station based in Nashville, Tennessee, broadcast the program by short-wave radio to Europe, South America, India, and the Middle East.[98] Liberty Lobby's success with the program inspired other right-wing activists to create radio programs of their own in order to reach out to a larger audience.[99]

Born in 1935, Valentine was a longtime resident of Del Mar, California, who began working as a freelance writer for the *Spotlight* in 1983. Later, he became a member of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, as well as of the Advisory Board of the Populist Action Committee. Not long after the 1994 elections, several junior members of Congress appeared on Valentine's program, including Michael Patrick Flanagan (R-IL), Steve Stockman (R-TX), Joe Scarborough (R-FL), and Jack Metcalf (R-WA).[100] On his radio program, Valentine frequently voiced sympathy for the nascent militia movement.[101]

Still another Liberty Lobby radio program was the "Editor's Roundtable," which, according to a 1994 newsletter, appeared on forty-two local stations around the country.[102] Carto has supported smaller radio productions as well. For example, he provided funds to Tom Reveille to set up a pirate radio station with a mini-transmitter not covered by the FCC. On his program, Reveille devoted airtime to issues such as Holocaust revisionism.[103] And for a short period of time during the 1980s, Liberty Lobby entered into cable television broadcasting, but later abandoned the project because it was too costly.[104]

Generally speaking, these radio programs appealed to Liberty Lobby's traditional clientele—the middle-aged and senior citizens. Carto also sought to reach out to the young, mainly the nascent skinhead movement.

Resistance Records

The growing popularity of the "white power" music genre caught Carto's attention in the late 1990s, as he recognized it as a potentially effective medium through which to reach young people, most notably, skinheads. In the late 1990s, Carto had acquired a CD distribution firm called Resistance Records, which had been founded in 1993 by George Burdi and Mark Wilson. The recording company produced CDs for the incipient white power music genre. Burdi and Wilson chose Detroit, Michigan, as the location for their business, because it was an equal distance between Milwaukee and Toronto (the two were working with racialist activists in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Canada). In just a few short years, Resistance Records had established itself as a major producer of white power music and had assumed the role in America that Ian Stuart had played earlier in England.[105] The enterprise proved to be quite successful; Burdi estimated that from between 1994 to early 1997, the company sold over sixty thousand CDs and tapes, and perhaps as many as one hundred thousand.[106] Under his stewardship, the company kept in contact with about forty European recording labels in Poland, the Czech Republic, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, France, England, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, Hungary, South Africa, Australia, and even Japan.[107]

However, problems soon befell the fledgling record company. In April 1997, Michigan authorities raided the offices of Resistance Records near Detroit to execute a warrant as part of an investigation for nonpayment of taxes. In Ontario, just across the border, Canadian authorities raided Burdi's home as part of an investigation into whether the company was using its U.S. address to circumvent Canada's stringent hate speech laws.[108] The Canadian authorities seized Nazi paraphernalia and arrested Burdi along with two of his aides.[109] The tax case in the United States turned out to be minor insofar as most of the Resistance Records' customers were out of state and thus not required to pay state sales taxes on purchases through the mail.

Ultimately, the matter was settled with a fine, but the management of Resistance Records was shaken.[110] Carto acquired the label, but soon sold it to Todd Blodgett, a former low-level staffer in the Reagan White House and protégé of Lee Atwater. Blodgett once worked on projects with Carto, but the two eventually split, presumably over finances. In 1996, Carto entered into an agreement to sell a copy of Liberty Lobby's mailing list to Blodgett for $85,000. However, the deal was never consummated. By 1998, however, relations between the two became strained, and Carto banned Blodgett from the offices of Liberty Lobby.[111]

After acquiring Resistance Records, Blodgett did not seem particularly interested in rebuilding the company. Therefore, he soon sold the enterprise to Dr. William L. Pierce, the chairman of the National Alliance. Under Pierce's, and later Eric Gliebe's, direction, Resistance Records appears to have rebounded and has potential to be a substantial moneymaker for the National Alliance organization.[112]

Decline

Although the militia movement appears to be in sharp retreat, it still retains a core of activists and supporters.[113] Gone are the heady days of sensational coverage from the national media. Most of the militia leaders no longer command the number of weekend warriors as they did formerly, and much of their energy is directed at the preparedness and gun show circuits at which they sell books, videos, and other items. For all practical purposes, the movement has lost much of its paramilitary character, perhaps in part due to new anti-paramilitary training statutes enacted by state legislatures (with the encouragement of watchdog groups, such as the ADL), which have dissuaded members from using firearms in organizational settings.[114] Moreover, a chief concern of the early militia movement—Y2K—seems to have come and gone with little incident, thus allaying the sense of urgency that previously gripped its members. Despite this apparent decline, the ADL issued a report in 2004 titled *The Quiet Retooling of the Militia Movement*, which asserted that the movement has rebounded and its members have taken a less public profile than their progenitors in the mid-1990s.[115]

Despite moral support and publicity from the *Spotlight*, the militias failed to develop into a right-wing mass movement. Aggravating the situation for Carto, a bitter feud developed between him and the Institute for Historical Review, which threatened the very existence of Liberty Lobby.

16

Internecine Battles

The Struggle with the IHR

The Breakup Begins

As has often been the case with Willis Carto, his relationship with the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) deteriorated and eventually ruptured. In 1993, staffers of the IHR had a falling out with Carto and split from him. As with many of his other projects, Carto preferred to have others run IHR's day-to-day operations and serve as its public spokespersons. This arrangement held up well for over a decade. However, in the cash-strapped world of the American far right, money has time and again proven to be a divisive factor, and in this case ultimately led to a bitter feud between Carto and the IHR.

Indeed, numerous financial factors contributed to the dispute between the IHR staff and Carto. Mark Weber and his allies accused Carto of financial irregularities in the management of the IHR. According to press accounts and legal documents, Carto purchased a new Cadillac for his wife, Elisabeth, with IHR funds. Furthermore, he was criticized for taking out an insufficient insurance policy prior to the July 4, 1984, arson at the IHR office.[1] Finally, according to his critics, Carto allegedly skimped on pay and health benefits for the IHR staff.[2]

There was also disagreement over the editorial direction of the *Journal of Historical Review*. The journal's editor, Mark Weber, criticized Carto for his racism; Weber claimed that he had wanted to build a more credible academic think tank untainted by right-wing extremism. The two sides had differences over the thematic direction of the *Journal of Historical Review*, as IHR staff wanted to focus on Holocaust revisionism, while Carto wanted to emphasize other issues, such as race and multiculturalism.[3] Weber claimed that Carto wanted to turn the publication into a "racist" and "Nazi" journal. Weber later claimed that he had endeavored to make the journal appear more mainstream. His efforts notwithstanding, the IHR is still considered beyond the pale of respectability in academic quarters. As a result of these differences, the November/December 1993 issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* announced that the IHR Board of Directors, with the support of the staff, consisting of Director Tom Marcellus and editors Mark Weber, Ted O'Keefe, and Greg Raven, had decided to terminate its relationship with Willis Carto.[4]

According to Carto's version of this dispute, he had been dissatisfied with Weber's performance at the IHR and was about to remove him from that position, for which he paid him an annual salary of $32,000.[5] Carto alleged that, in April 1993, Marcellus, Weber, O'Keefe, and Raven had begun conspiring to wrest control from him of the Legion for the Survival of Freedom (LSF) and its two subsidiaries, the IHR and Noontide Press. In order to bring this about, Carto claims that they coerced Lewis and LaVonne Furr, both members of the LSF board of directors, into resigning and handing control over to them. In their stead, the IHR staff wanted Andrew Allen, Fritz Berg, and John Curry to be admitted to the LSF's board. In order to accomplish this task, they were supposed to have used the services of a California attorney, William Hulsy, who previously had served as Carto's legal counsel in the Mermelstein case. Hulsy was said to have sent a letter to the Furrs urging them to end Carto's relationship with the LSF. Allegedly, the five IHR members pressured Mr. and Mrs. Furr into resigning and approving Allen, Berg, and Curry for membership on the board of directors. Eventually, the Furrs submitted their resignations, whereupon Hulsy contacted Tom Kerr, another LSF board member. On September 24, 1993, Kerr was supposedly inveigled into signing minutes prepared by Hulsy that approved the appointment of Allen Berg and John Curry to the board. At that time, four other persons served on the board—Sam Dickson, Harvey Taylor, Jack Riner, and Noel Merrihew.[6] In essence, Carto claims that Hulsy and members of the IHR staff engineered a coup against him and removed him from his position as treasurer for the IHR. The staff installed themselves as the sole operators of the nonprofit organization.[7] On October 4, 1993, Carto received a letter from four IHR senior members indicating that they were firing him.[8] Later, in an open letter to supporters, Carto accused the IHR of paying Hulsy $120,000 for its legal suits against him.[9] In a telephone conversation with Carto's lawyer, Mark Lane, on October 11, 1993, Hulsy allegedly admitted that the takeover of the IHR by Weber et al. was a "terribly disloyal . . . coup d'état."[10]

On October 15, 1993, Carto and his wife entered the IHR offices with the help of Jean Scott, an IHR employee. With the assistance of a locksmith, they changed the locks on the doors and took office records. Things started to really heat up with the arrival of members of the staff—including Thomas J. Marcellus, Mark Weber, Ted O'Keefe, Greg Raven, and William S. Hulsy—who eventually forced their way into the office. During the incident, a scuffle involving gunplay ensued. Carto and his wife, Elisabeth, were physically ejected from the IHR's office and left battered and bloodied. They alleged that O'Keefe, Marcellus, and Weber had assaulted them. In response to the "break-in," Hulsy swore out arrest warrants against the Cartos, who were later arrested by the police.[11] They were held for eight hours at the police station and bail was set at fifty thousand dollars. A longtime friend of the Cartos, Jim Townsend, arranged for the Cartos to be released on their own recognizance, and no charges were ever filed. After a search of the office, the police found the handgun that Raven allegedly brandished against the Cartos. The gun was loaded with one bullet in the chamber. The police seized the firearm as evidence, and Raven was immediately arrested.[12]

According to Liberty Lobby's version of the controversy, a San Francisco-based international operative who worked for the Israeli Mossad, Andrew Allen, had manipulated Weber and Marcellus and orchestrated the seizure of the IHR office and its property. A Liberty Lobby publication claimed that Allen colluded with a San Diego County deputy sheriff, Tim Carroll, to launch a SWAT raid on Carto's residence in California on March 22, 1995.[13] Moreover, Allen was said to have been actively working on behalf of the CIA, in violation of a congressional charter that prohibits agents from operating internally in the United States. According to the *Spotlight*, Allen's name appeared on a list of CIA operatives active in the United States that was released by Robert T. Crowley, a veteran CIA agent who once served as the deputy director of operations for the agency.[14] Shortly after 9/11, *American Free Press* reported that Allen was a key player in the CIA's efforts to support bin Laden and other mujahideen during the Soviet-Afghan war during the 1980s.[15]

Both Carto and Michael Collins Piper are adamant that the Church of Scientology was behind the plot to destroy Liberty Lobby.[16] The church was founded in 1952 by Lafayette Ronald Hubbard, who wrote a best-selling book called *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*, which detailed the principles of Scientology. Through a process of "auditing," members endeavor to rid themselves of "engrams" (repressed memories of sorts) and attain a state of being "cleared," whereby they can maximize their human potential.[17] Allegedly, Greg Raven and Tom Marcellus were both members of the church.[18] According to Elisabeth Carto, at one time Marcellus was contributing one thousand dollars a month to the church.[19] James K. Warner also accused Marcellus of being a loyal member of the church, to which he supposedly donated a substantial amount of money. Furthermore, Warner pointed out that it was no mere coincidence that the IRS granted the Church of Scientology a tax exemption on October 1, 1993—the same day that Tom Marcellus allegedly launched his coup at the IHR.[20]

The *Spotlight* depicted Scientology as a "profit-hungry" mind-control cult that had seriously harmed many of its followers.[21] The church was alleged to have numerous front companies.[22] Stephen Koczak, a former high-ranking American diplomat, who was once stationed in Israel, allegedly told the *Spotlight* in 1994 that the Mossad, in conjunction with elements of the CIA, had seized control of the Church of Scientology. David Miscavige was selected to replace the late L. Ron Hubbard as leader of the organization. To buttress this assertion, the *Spotlight* claimed that a lawyer for Mel Mermelstein, Lawrence Heller, was part of a small clique that seized control of Scientology through a body called the "Church of Spiritual Technology," which controls the worldwide financial assets of the main church. According to this claim, Tom Marcellus was their plant who set in motion the coup against Carto. Working with Andrew Allen and Greg Raven, Marcellus persuaded Mark Weber and Ted O'Keefe to join the effort to subvert the IHR from the inside. Weber and O'Keefe were depicted as patsies who went along with the alleged Mossad-directed conspiracy.[23]

All conspiracy theories aside, the main bone of contention between Carto and the IHR appears to have been over who should have control over a large amount of money bequeathed by a wealthy heiress to the Edison fortune.

Jean Edison Farrel

Although Tom Marcellus and Mark Weber complained about the direction favored by Carto at the *Journal of Historical Review*, the principal conflict appears to have been money. Jean Edison Farrel, a grandniece and heiress to Thomas Edison, began supporting Carto's work in 1980, and even became a member of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy. For a while, the Edison family had an association with Liberty Lobby. Farrel's uncle, the late Governor Charles Edison of New York, who was a son of Thomas Edison, had been a supporter of Liberty Lobby back when it was founded in 1955. Furthermore, Governor Edison was one of the founding members of the Board of Policy. Farrel's primary political interest was opposition to the U.S. federal income tax system—a topic that has long been of interest to Liberty Lobby. Because of her desire to evade the IRS, Farrel adopted Colombian citizenship and resided in Switzerland. In 1984, Farrell visited Carto and his wife in both Washington, D.C., and California. Between 1983 and 1985, Farrel was in regular contact with Carto, who informed her of the various challenges faced by the IHR at that time. She expressed an interest in financially assisting Carto in his various endeavors, and supposedly suggested to him that she would name him as her primary heir. Carto claimed that he rejected her offer insofar as it would not be appropriate to receive such a substantial personal gift from a supporter of two institutions with which he maintained a fiduciary responsibility. Farrel supported both the LSF and Carto's Foundation to Defend the First Amendment, an organization that provided legal funds for both the IHR and Liberty Lobby as they sought to defend themselves against litigation filed by Mel Mermelstein. According to Carto, he thought it would be better for the funds to reside in a permanent corporation, rather than in "the personal estate of a mortal person."[24]

On August 11, 1985, Farrel died in Lausanne, Switzerland. Carto did not learn of her death until one month later. Not long before her death, Farrel assigned approximately ten million dollars in stock certificates in her will to the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, Inc., the IHR's parent organization. Just prior to her passing, Carto contacted a Geneva attorney, Edward Coughlin, to create a mechanism to handle the assets that Farrel intended to bequeath to Carto and his projects. Based on these instructions, Coughlin created the NECA corporation, which was established under the laws of Liberia, to hold much of Farrel's assets. Carto maintains that Farrel clearly intended for him to control the NECA and the distribution of funds therein. Various shares of this corporation were distributed in safe deposit boxes in locations in Germany, Britain, Switzerland, Singapore, and the United States. Farrel then mailed the keys to these various boxes to Carto. According to Carto, Farrel's trusted neighbor, Mrs. Joan Althaus, was supposed to contact Carto and assist him in recovering the NECA holdings. However, he claims that Mrs. Althaus never contacted him. Upon learning of Farrel's death, Carto immediately flew to Switzerland, where he discovered that Althaus had taken control of Farrel's apartment and personal effects. Furthermore, Carto claimed that she refused to assist him in recovering the NECA shares. Consequently, he immediately contacted the Furrs, who still were on the board of the LSF, so that they could plan action to secure their designated share of the Farrell estate. On January 10, 1991, LaVonne D. Furr, then secretary and a member of the Board of Directors of the LSF, along with her husband, Lewis Furr, also a board member, appointed Carto as an agent of the LSF for the purpose of traveling to Switzerland to arrange for the transfer of the designated Farrell estate assets to the LSF. In doing so, Carto had obtained power of attorney to go to Switzerland and settle the Farrel bequest. Carto claimed that between 1985 and 1990, he retained the services of twelve attorneys in six countries at the expense of approximately $750,000. Eventually, in July 1990, Althaus agreed to settle the dispute over the funds with Carto. Althaus received 55 percent of the NECA holdings, while Carto received the balance, valued roughly at $7.2 million.[25]

A shadowy Swiss banker, François Genoud, played a key role in securing the Farrell legacy.[26] Genoud had been involved in far right causes for several decades, and he also financially assisted various Palestinian "rejectionist" groups, such as Fatah and Black September, in the 1970s.[27] According to allegations made by the IHR, Carto used LaVonne Furr to help transfer millions of dollars in funds that were intended for the IHR.[28]

It was at this point that the IHR staff claimed that the money disappeared. According to the IHR, Carto absconded with the money and, along with Henry Fischer, is supposed to have opened a bank account at the *Banque Cantrade* in Lausanne, Switzerland, into which he deposited the proceeds.[29] An Australian citizen, Fischer had been born in 1936 in Paris.[30] A search warrant once described Fischer as "a notorious international traveler," who was once implicated in the disappearance of five hundred thousand dollars in funds from the Iraqi government that were intended for the Victorian Labour Party in Australia.[31] Carto was reported to have once lived at Fischer's residence for two or three months at the same time that another man, Michael Brown, was residing there. Brown was described as a former bodyguard for the late George Lincoln Rockwell and was once convicted for possession of explosives that he allegedly planned to use to blow up the United Nations building.[32]

According to Marcellus, Carto had created a corporation—the Foundation to Defend the First Amendment—for the sole purpose of controlling Farrell's money and loaning it back to the LSF. In doing so, Carto hoped that it would make the Legion a less attractive target for potential lawsuits, which was understandable in light of the Mel Mermelstein affair.[33] Inasmuch as senior staffers argued that the IHR and the Legion were one and the same, they demanded that the money be dedicated to the parent company and not the corporation created by Carto.[34] Previously, the IHR had advertised itself as the Legion, thereby suggesting that the two entities were one and the same. Therefore, the senior staffers demanded that they were entitled to Farrell's bequeathal.[35] In 1980, Carto and his wife, Elisabeth, filed for the IHR's business license under the name of Legion for the Survival of Freedom, Inc. However, the IHR typically did business under the title of the "Noontide Press/Institute for Historical Review."[36] For his part, Carto claimed to have had control over the IHR when the will was consummated, and that he was therefore entitled to the money. He had officially severed all legal ties to the LSF in 1969 and assumed the positions of its "unpaid agent" and "business manager" but still exerted control over the body.[37] In 1979, Carto established the IHR as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the LSF.[38]

The IHR decided to challenge Carto's control over the will. On November 18, 1993, the board of directors of the LSF filed an action in the California Superior Court to determine who the valid members of the board of directors were. Carto mounted a legal effort to regain control of the IHR and filed a lawsuit against the LSF, which in turn filed a lawsuit against Carto's front

group, the Foundation to Defend the First Amendment.[39] The case was assigned to Judge Robert J. Polis, who ruled against the Carto loyalists on the board and recognized Thomas Kerr as its director.

It Gets Nasty

The feud between the parties has frequently been nasty. For example, the *Spotlight* carried articles containing embarrassing features of Weber's divorce papers. Weber accused Carto of actually assisting his estranged wife, Priscilla, by providing three thousand dollars for her divorce attorney.[40] Another *Spotlight* article alleged that Weber's sister had immigrated to Israel and converted to Judaism. Carto loyalist James Warner speculated that the Israeli Mossad used this family connection to manipulate Weber.[41]

As proof of their effectiveness, the Cartos and their defenders noted that at least four critical books on the topic of Holocaust revision were published in the mainstream press in 1993.[42] Furthermore, in 1988, Carto revived the *Journal of Historical Review*, whose publication had been suspended due to financial difficulties arising from the Mermelstein suit. The relaunched journal was subsequently converted in style to an 8.5-by-11 inch magazine format, with art, photographs, and brightly colored covers. Moreover, this initiative was augmented with an aggressive direct marketing campaign, which increased circulation from 4,500 to 7,000.[43] Invoking the dictum that one should be judged by how much he is scorned by his enemies, Carto pointed out that an article by Michael Shermer that appeared in the *Skeptic* magazine was both critical of Holocaust revision and sympathetic toward Mark Weber. Shermer wrote:

> Not all Holocaust revisionists are conspiracy theorists. Mark Weber, in fact is redirecting the IHR away from both conspiratorial thinking and overt anti-Semitic leanings, in an effort to lead the movement into the mainstream of historical scholarship. In this process they must also distance themselves from some of the more extreme revisionists.[44]

For his part, Carto further excoriated Weber for inviting Shermer as a guest speaker to an IHR conference.

Later, Carto went so far as to accuse IHR staffer Ted O'Keefe of "killing" Leon Degrelle. According to Carto, on January 28, 1994, O'Keefe, acting on behalf of the new officers and directors of the IHR and LSF, sent a letter to Degrelle to halt work on a major project. Near the end of his life, Degrelle planned on writing a 14-volume history of World War II and reportedly received a contract from the IHR to undertake and publish the project. The first volume in the series, *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, was published in 1987. In the five years after it was published, the volume earned two hundred thousand dollars. Carto had negotiated the original contract with Degrelle, and he saw the 14-volume collection as a potentially big money maker for the IHR, which he felt might conceivably bring in a profit of $2.5 million over a ten-year period.

The receipt of O'Keefe's letter, written on IHR letterhead (which carried Carto's name), came as a shock to Degrelle. According to Degrelle's wife, he felt betrayed and insulted, believing that his friend Carto had had a hand in drafting the letter. Indeed, the letter was thought to have distressed him so much that it resulted in his death.[45] This charge was not to be taken lightly, given Degrelle's iconic status in the international extreme right. Previously, O'Keefe had written a laudatory introduction to Degrelle's book, *Campaign in Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front*. Degrelle's wife later sued the IHR for copyright infringement and property theft, and demanded that the IHR, under the leadership of Weber et al., return Degrelle's manuscripts and supply full information regarding royalty payments.[46] Marcellus supposedly accused Degrelle of plagiarism and attacked his work as being "flagrantly pro-Hitler."[47] Likewise, O'Keefe characterized the manuscript as "stridently, embarrassingly pro-Nazi and pro-Hitler . . . [a] half a million dollar white elephant with a swastika painted on its side."[48] In 1994, the IHR liquidated the entire book stock of the Noontide Press, which resulted in six hundred thousand dollars in profits.[49]

By the spring of 1995, detectives of the Costa Mesa Police Department in southern California were investigating Carto for the alleged fraudulent seizure of the Farrel inheritance. The investigation commenced after Mark Weber and Tom Marcellus had made a complaint to the authorities. On March 22, 1995, at 7:00 a.m., a SWAT team raided Carto's residence in southern California and seized fourteen cartons of papers as part of the investigation into the missing funds. Around the same time, authorities raided the home of Henry Fischer. The basis of the complaint was that Carto had allegedly embezzled funds from the IHR's parent company. According to Carto, Andrew Allen colluded with a San Diego County deputy sheriff, Tim Carroll to launch the raid.[50] The statement of probable cause was written by Larry Rooker, an investigator for the Costa Mesa Police Department, who explained that the complaint was initiated by Mark Weber and Thomas Marcellus, who were serving as secretary and president respectively of the Legion for the Survival of Freedom. The complaint stated that property bequeathed by Farrell to the LSF was held at the Cartos' residence.[51] For his part, Carto loyalist Michael Collins Piper dismissed Weber's claim that the Farrel inheritance was earmarked exclusively for revisionism and maintained that all of the money had been either distributed to Liberty Lobby or to the IHR, and that no hidden assets were kept by Carto and his wife.[52]

The Verdict

The IHR leadership accused Carto of diverting $7.5 million of the bequeathal that was intended for the IHR to Liberty Lobby.[53] As a result, in 1994 the IHR filed suit against Carto to recover the bequest.[54] Refusing to testify at trial, Carto invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination and fired IHR leaders Mark Weber and Ted O'Keefe in retaliation for the suit.[55]

In November 1996, Superior Court Judge Runston D. Maino in San Diego ruled in favor of the IHR and awarded the organization $7.365 million in damages. The court opined that, although Farrel probably intended for the money to go to Carto for the furtherance of his projects, she erred in naming the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, and not the Carto family, as the entity to which the money was bequeathed. To make matters worse for Carto, the original $7.5 million inheritance had grown into a $10 million judgment against him.[56] Not one to walk away from a legal fight, Carto initiated a series of lawsuits against the IHR staff in January 1998, charging them with a variety of civil and criminal offenses, including the intention to inflict emotional distress, extortion, bribery, libel, slander, and violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.[57] That same year, Liberty Lobby filed for bankruptcy due to IHR collection claims. Both Carto and his wife Elisabeth also declared personal bankruptcy due to the expense of litigation.[58]

In July 1999, the *Spotlight* announced the creation of the "Friends of the *Spotlight* and Liberty Lobby" by Katharine Dall, the widow of Col. Curtis B. Dall. The new group was intended to rally support for Liberty Lobby in the face of legal assaults from the IHR.[59] On November 12, 2000, Mrs. Dall died in her sleep at the age of 94.[60] Liberty Lobby claimed to have reached a settlement with the IHR that Judge Martin Teel, a federal bankruptcy judge, approved on August 8, 2000, in Washington, D.C., releasing Liberty Lobby from bankruptcy.

Despite these efforts to stave off defeat, on December 15, 2000, California Superior Court Judge Runston G. Maino effectively negated the agreement reached earlier between Liberty Lobby and the IHR. As a result, he ordered Liberty Lobby to surrender its assets to the IHR.[61] After considering the evidence, Maino determined that the Cartos, together with Liberty Lobby and several associates, had diverted funds that were intended for the IHR and the LSF.[62] He levied a $2.65 million judgment against Liberty Lobby and a $6.43 judgment against the Cartos, who were also ordered to pay 10 percent annual interest from January 1991. J. Brian Urtnowski, Liberty Lobby's California attorney, later argued that Maino's decision to overturn a settlement that was reached in Washington, D.C., was unlawful.[63] Judge Maino issued a stay of execution until April of 2001. Fighting back, in late December 2000 Liberty Lobby filed a $43 million suit against the IHR, charging that Mark Weber, Kirk Lyons, and other IHR staff members had sent a fraudulent letter to a list of Liberty Lobby supporters, soliciting funds to save Liberty Lobby and using a fictitious return address so that the money would come back to them. The suit alleged that the letter amounted to a violation of several laws, including the Lanham Act (a trademark law), Tortious Interference with Contracts and Business Relations, the Business Tort of Injurious Falsehood, Defamation and Slander, and Common Law Fraud.[64] However, the suit was ultimately dismissed.

On June 18, 2001, U.S. Bankruptcy Judge S. Martin Teel, Jr., finally put an end to the complicated eight-year battle by ordering Liberty Lobby to surrender its assets to the IHR, effectively upholding Judge Maino's earlier decision.[65] He ruled that it was proper for the state court in California to reach into the federal court in Washington, D.C., and decided that Liberty Lobby's second Chapter 11 bankruptcy petition could not be filed.[66] Carto and his wife were forced to sell their home in California, devoting the proceeds to meet the suit. The ruling sounded the death knell for Liberty Lobby, as it would soon be forced to liquidate its assets. Thus, in an ironic twist of fate, one of the most longstanding institutions of the far right was forced to close shop, not due to action by its watchdog opponents, such as the ADL or the Southern Poverty Law Center, but rather due to an internecine feud on the far right.[67]

The story took a strange twist when Eric Owens, an IHR staffer and assistant editor of the *Journal of Historical Review*, widely disseminated an email message, which alleged that Mark Weber and Greg Raven discussed selling Liberty Lobby's mailing list to either the ADL or the Church of Scientology, both nemeses of Liberty Lobby. Owens claimed that Raven boasted that, as a result of the impending judgment against Liberty Lobby, its mailing list would soon come into the IHR's possession, and that both the ADL and the Church of Scientology were interested in obtaining it. To Owens' dismay, Weber listened intently to Raven's proposal and voiced his clear approval. At this time, Owens discerned a look of disgust on the face of Ted O'Keefe, who was also present at the meeting. Enraged at the thought that the IHR would cooperate with one of its sworn enemies (the ADL), the next week Owens widely disseminated an email in which he exposed all of the lurid details.[68] Not long thereafter, he lost his position as assistant editor of the *Journal of Historical Review*. Ted O'Keefe, who served at the time as editor of the journal and treasurer of the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, later confirmed Owens' accusations. O'Keefe was later dismissed from those positions.[69] Owens, who had begun his right-wing activism as a skinhead before going on to work for the IHR, also served as a California delegate of the Reform Party in support of Buchanan.[70] For its part, the IHR quickly denied Owens' allegations, charging that Carto had concocted them in an effort to discredit the organization.[71]

Still, more troubles continued for Carto. On March 26, 2003, a magistrate in Lausanne, Switzerland, issued an arrest warrant for Willis Carto, charging that he had laundered money and committed other related crimes. The warrant charged that Carto had illegally misappropriated millions of dollars that were intended for the IHR and its parent organization, the LSF.[72]

In all, the litigation took a tremendous toll on Carto and on the IHR. Through its numerous battles with its founding father, the IHR had been considerably weakened and was forced to scale back its operations and projects.[73] The number of subscribers for the *Journal of Historical Review* fell from more than 6,000 in 1993 to about 3,000 in 2003.[74] It has since ceased publication, but the IHR still operates a web site on which various stories related to revisionism are posted. For his part, Carto, characterizing Weber as an opportunist, claims that Weber collected millions of dollars from the remnants of Liberty Lobby after loyal members died and left bequests to the organization.[75] The fact that the IHR is no longer a revisionist stronghold is adduced as proof by Carto that some entity—such as the ADL, the Mossad, or the Church of Scientology—deliberately sabotaged it from within.[76] Despite all its travails, the IHR held annual conferences each year from 1979 to 1994. After 1994, the next conference would not be held until 2000, at which David Irving appeared as the surprise speaker.[77]

Aftermath

The IHR/Liberty Lobby imbroglio polarized the far right and the revisionist movement. Among Carto's supporters was James Townsend, the publisher of a monthly newspaper, the *Nationalist Educator*. Previously, Townsend had worked on a project with Carto called the "Committee of Ten Million."[78] Longtime friend James K. Warner also supported Carto. Warner is the founder of several far right organizations, including the Christian Defense League, the New Christian Crusade Church, and the Sons of Liberty.[79] Carto has promoted Warner's Sons of Liberty, which is really a book distributor of extremist literature. Warner once praised Carto as "the most intelligent patriotic leader in America . . . . He is the only one with the intelligence and drive to be able to ORGANIZE [emphasis in original] the dis-united 'right.'"[80]

Over the years, Carto appears to have attracted several loyal women supporters and financial benefactors, including LaVonne Furr, Jean Farrel, Ingaborg Busch, Olive Snead, and his longtime associate and de facto office manager, Anne Cronin. Most notable is his wife Elisabeth, who has remained steadfastly loyal to her husband. During the IHR controversy, she wrote several open letters defending Carto, characterizing him as a man who selflessly promoted revisionism, often at great personal and financial cost. She exhorted revisionist historians not to remain neutral, but to support him.

Of course, Carto has had his share of detractors as well. Several prominent revisionist historians—including Arthur Butz, Robert Faurrison, and David Irving—initially supported the staff of the IHR in its struggle with Carto.[81] A prominent revisionist activist (and director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust), Bradley Smith, also sided with the IHR.[82] In response, Carto's wife Elisabeth sent an angry letter to Smith, the contents of which were eventually published in a CODOH newsletter.[83]

Lawrence T. Patterson, the publisher of the extremist magazine *Criminal Politics*, worked with Carto on a number of projects. On occasion, he has written for the *Spotlight* and spoken before audiences of the Populist Party. Previously, he was listed as a member of Liberty Lobby's Populist Action Committee. However, his relationship with Carto soured in 1994, when his magazine carried two articles by Mark Weber that took the IHR's side in the controversy with Carto. Carto conjectured that, inasmuch as Patterson's magazine was a competitor of the *Spotlight*, this may have colored Patterson's perception of the affair.[84]

Still another critic of Carto was Mark Cotterill, a representative of the British National Party, who spent several years in the United States from the mid-1990s to 2002, and who once worked for the *Barnes Review*, which eventually fired him for allegedly stealing the journal's mailing list. Cotterill was put off by Carto's supposed anti-British animus. In 1999, Cotterill wrote an upbeat article for the *Spotlight* on the success of the British National Party in England.[85] Yet during the IHR ordeal, Cotterill appeared happy that Carto was about to lose his legal battle. Furthermore, he maintained a cordial relationship with Mark Weber.[86]

Some of the most scathing criticisms came from Tom Metzger, the leader and founder of White Aryan Resistance (WAR), a racialist revolutionary organization, which promotes a "third way" variant of National Socialism that is highly critical of capitalism. Previously, Metzger assailed Carto for his political conservatism, arguing that right-wingers and racists could make better use of their money by contributing to genuinely revolutionary organizations.[87] Metzger explained that he once met with Henry Fischer, whom Carto had hired to help collect the inheritance from the Farrel estate. Once, when Metzger visited Fischer's home in Escondido, California, Fischer allegedly expressed his frustration with how Carto handled the affair and implied that he wanted Carto punished, suggesting that perhaps Metzger might serve as a hitman. Fearing that it might be a set-up for a conspiracy charge, Metzger did not pursue the matter. Metzger alleged that Carto had previously accused him in depositions of planning to kill him.[88] Weighing in on the controversy, Metzger commented:

> Willis Carto is a case history in multifaceted personality. I first met him in the early 70s. I worked with him on a few projects when I was just another right winger. He has for years been able to play the man of many faces . . . .
>
> While much of his following was Christian and only lightly racist he played the NAZI side to (sic) but was able to juggle the balls and keep them all in the air. On one hand he romanced little old Christian Conservatives and on the other attend Hitler birthday parties . . . .
>
> It was during a quarrel with his partner Henry Fischer that I became involved. I was invited to Fischer's home in Escondido, California, on three occasions. During these visits Fischer confided in me the entire sordid background to Carto's relationship with Farrel. He detailed to me how Carto lost at least half the money to the Jews. Fischer is now on the run probably living in France and fleeing the IHR collection crew . . . .
>
> Sometimes long periods elapsed without Carto calling Ms. Farrell. Eventually she died and the Housekeeper as agent for the Jews informed them immediately. The Jews immediately through their usual manipulation went to all the banks around the world where Farrell had money stashed and were able to tie up the accounts. Ms. Farrell hated banks especially American banks. By the time Carto got the word he could cash in, it cost a fortune of at least half the estate to get the remainder out of the grid lock imposed by the Jews.
>
> Once Carto did get his hands on a much depleted estate he began salting it away in offshore accounts and simply making bad investments . . . .
>
> Meanwhile Carto has been fighting a delaying action and at the same time accusing every one of either being CIA, or working for the Jews or being a Jew.
>
> That's it in a nutshell. Carto now tries to paint himself as a martyr, and Henry Fischer, who went back to work with Carto after revealing all this to me, is carrying millions in his suitcase as he tries to elude the IHR collectors.

Jean Farrel was a good woman who wanted to finance a real struggle. In the end the Jews got at least half the money in a deal with Carto and he tried to hide the rest.

That's the story in brief. Sad but true. It gives new meaning to the saying,

WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND HE BE US!!!!!! [Emphasis in the original.][89]

Despite this apparent setback, Liberty Lobby reconstituted itself and relaunched its *Spotlight* publication as *American Free Press*. After his ejection from the IHR, Carto still persisted in promoting revisionism. To that end he launched a new journal called the *Barnes Review*.

17

The *Barnes Review*

Undeterred by his ouster from the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), Carto shortly thereafter founded the Center for Historical Review, another revisionist think tank. Then, in 1994, Carto launched the *Barnes Review* to compete with the *Journal of Historical Review*. The format of the *Barnes Review* is less academic in tone and also contains pictures. George Fowler, a journalist, who worked with the Republican National Committee during the 1964 presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater, served as the journal's first editor.[1] He was later replaced by John Tiffany. Not long thereafter, M. Raphael Johnson, who holds a Ph.D. in political science, took over that position. Currently, the journal lists Carto as its editor and publisher and Tiffany as its assistant editor. By 1995, circulation of the new journal was reported to have reached eleven thousand.[2]

Carto named the new flagship journal after Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, who is recognized as one of the leading forerunners of the contemporary revisionist movement, and with whom Carto had become friendly in the 1960s. The term *revisionist* had originated with a group of scholars who questioned the notion of unique German responsibility for the outbreak of World War I.[3] In essence, Barnes argued that Germany did not want war at that time. Moreover, he questioned the propriety of America's involvement in European affairs.[4]

Born in Auburn, New York, on June 15, 1889, Barnes had received his doctorate from Columbia University. As a professor, he taught history at prestigious universities throughout the country. An author of more than forty books, his most notable studies were the two-volume *History of Western Civilization* (1935) and *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World* (1937). His scholarship became increasingly controversial, however, as he questioned mainstream versions of the causes of World War I. Barnes put forth the theory that "vested political and historical interests" had conspired to place blame on Germany for the Great War. As World War II approached, he became an ardent isolationist and held President Roosevelt responsible for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. After the war, Barnes wrote several pamphlets charging that Allied atrocities had been worse than those perpetrated by the Axis powers. Holding consistently to his isolationist views, he opposed American participation in the Korean War.

In the early postwar era, Barnes played a critical role in the development of Holocaust revisionism. He is believed to have exerted a significant influence over the historian David L. Hoggan, whose book *The Forced War: When Peaceful Revision Failed* advanced the thesis that England and Poland deserved most of the blame for precipitating World War II in Europe.[5] In 1986, Carto published Hoggan's book after it had sold over fifty thousand copies in Germany under the title *Der Erzwungene Krieg*. By the early 1960s, Barnes had reached out to the French revisionist Paul Rassinier and arranged for him to have his book, *The Drama of European Jews*, translated into English.[6] Barnes died in 1968 at the age of 79.

Today, the *Barnes Review* examines numerous historical topics besides the Holocaust. The journal tries to "get behind" the historical blackout on certain topics. A review of the major themes of the journal is instructive.

The Holocaust

The Holocaust remains an important topic in the *Barnes Review*, which carries articles that seek to debunk certain aspects of the conventional historiography surrounding this tragedy. For example, it is adduced that concentration camps were created for the purpose of reform, not torture and mass extermination.[7] Jews and other inmates were supposedly compensated for their labor and even received payment in issues of special currency (pictures of which have been reproduced) that circulated in the camps and ghettos.[8] Articles in the *Barnes Review* have depicted Adolf Eichmann—regarded as a chief architect of the Final Solution by mainstream historians—as a man who sought to encourage Jewish emigration from Europe, and who actually had some philo-Semitic tendencies.[9] The notorious research on twins by Auschwitz's infamous "Angel of Death"—Dr. Josef Mengele—has been defended as pioneering and medically useful. His more grisly experiments are rejected as fabrications or exaggerations by the Allies who sought to besmirch his research.[10]

Rather than a "Final Solution" aimed at the physical extermination of the European Jews, much is made in the *Barnes Review* of the Nazi's unimplemented plan to resettle the Jews in the island nation of Madagascar off of the coast of Africa.[11] The revisionists concede that many Jews died during the war. However, they assert that most died as a result of the privations that affected the general population of Europe, and that Jews, as a group, were not singled out for extermination. Those that were executed were selected because they were partisans that attacked German soldiers and died at the hands of the *Einsatzgruppen* in the fields of war rather than in concentration camps.[12]

Further, the jurisprudence of the Nuremberg Trials of 1946 is seen as seriously flawed. Methods used to compel confessions from Nazi figures—including torture—are supposed to cast doubts on the veracity of the generally accepted accounts of Nazi war crimes, including the Holocaust.[13] Even the authenticity of Anne Frank's diary is rejected.[14] Contemporary Jewish activists are accused of exploiting the tragedy of the Holocaust to further the aims of Jewish interest groups and their agendas.[15] Interestingly, in recent years, variants of this thesis have been advanced by non-revisionist scholars as well, including Peter Novick and Norman Finkelstein.[16] The latter has been championed by revisionists for his "temerity" to speak out on this issue.

The *Barnes Review* covers the travails and legal prosecutions of revisionist historians, such as Ernst Zündel, Udo Walendy, Frederick Töben, Gunter Deckert, Jürgen Graf, Germar Rudolf, Robert Faurisson, and David Irving.[17] Parallels are made between the persecution of revisionists in contemporary Europe and that of heretics during the Middle Ages, such as Galileo Galilei.[18] During the Swiss bank controversy of the late 1990s, which involved accounts of Jewish victims of the Holocaust, Carto was highly critical of Jewish organizations that pressured the Swiss government and banks. The Swiss were commended for resisting pressure from groups, such as the World Jewish Congress, led by Edgar Bronfman.[19] Revisionists claim that Jewish lobbying power was responsible for the success of an Israeli-drafted resolution, passed unanimously by the United Nations on November 1, 2005; this resolution proclaimed January 27 a day of international commemoration of victims of the Holocaust. The resolution rejected "any denial of the Holocaust as a historical event in full or part."[20]

Perhaps to relativize the Holocaust, other genocides throughout history are examined as well, including the Tasmanian genocide in Australia during the nineteenth century by British forces.[21] The genocide inflicted on Ukrainians and other Soviet citizens is characterized as the "Forgotten Holocaust," insofar as it has not received nearly the same amount of attention as the Jewish Holocaust of World War II. The Soviet despot, Joseph Stalin, who presided over the slaughter of tens of millions of people, comes under scrutiny in such articles, and the journal has even speculated that Stalin was of Jewish ancestry.[22] Charges of his anti-Semitism are considered overwrought, as it is noted that Jews—such as Lavrenti Beria and Lazar Kaganovich—were among his most notorious partners in crime.[23] Czarist Russia, by contrast, is depicted as a land in which peasants flourished under benevolent, though at times despotic, rulers.[24] Pogroms against Russia's Jewish population, it is argued, were the result of Jewish malfeasance and agitation against the country's rulers.[25]

Jews, Israel, and Zionism

Rather than viewing Jews as victims, the *Barnes Review* holds them responsible for some of the worst atrocities and injustices in recent history. For example, Jews are blamed for fomenting the Bolshevik Revolution. The role of Jews in the African slave trade is covered as well, with parallels made to the Jewish Holocaust of World War II.[26] Israeli mistreatment of the Palestinians is a frequent theme. In articles in the *Barnes Review*, Jews are blamed for the more destructive aspects of the counterculture, including the sexual revolution.[27] In short, Jews are identified as the principal agents of the degeneration of Western civilization since the start of the twentieth century.[28] In this vein, the *Barnes Review* gave a favorable review of Kevin MacDonald's trilogy on Judaism and anti-Semitism, which MacDonald considered from the perspective of evolutionary psychology.[29]

Zionism often comes under critical examination in the pages of the *Barnes Review*, which describes it as a racist, exclusionary, and apartheid-type system that has antagonized not only the Middle East, but the West as well.[30] The legitimacy of the state of Israel is called into question.[31] To its detractors, Israel's perfidy was demonstrated with the attack on the USS *Liberty*, an event that has been frequently reported on by Carto's publications. The USS *Liberty* was a Navy vessel that was attacked on June 8, 1967, during the Six Day War between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The intelligence ship was sailing in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, when it came under attack by Israeli aircraft and Israeli motorboats for 75-minutes. Thirty-four U.S. sailors were killed, and 173 others were wounded. The Israeli government insists that its armed forces mistakenly identified the ship as Egyptian, at a time when Egypt was at war with Israel. Survivors of the attack maintain that American flags were prominently displayed on the vessel, which, according to Carto and the *Barnes Review*, renders the Israeli explanation untenable. Far right literature often cites the case of the USS *Liberty* as an example of Israeli malfeasance and mendacity, and it rejects the official Israeli explanation that the tragedy resulted from a military mistake in the midst of a fog of war.[32] On several occasions, Liberty Lobby has championed the survivors of the USS *Liberty*. It is often a featured topic in Carto's publications and at his conferences.[33]

The *Barnes Review* has depicted the Israeli intelligence agency—the Mossad—as a sordid outfit and frequently attempts to expose its machinations. At a 1995 Labor Day conference sponsored by the *Barnes Review* and

held in Washington, D.C., to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of Liberty Lobby, a former Mossad agent, Victor Ostrovsky, presented a 110-minute lecture along with two question-and-answer sessions.[34] Shortly thereafter, Ostrovsky contributed an article to the *Barnes Review*, in which he outlined the organizational structure of the Mossad along with some of its more unsavory methods.[35] Previously, Ostrovsky had written two highly controversial and critical books on the Mossad in which he accused the spy agency of, among other things, failing to share intelligence with American authorities that could have perhaps prevented the deaths of U.S. and French troops at the hands of terrorists in Lebanon in 1983; precipitating the Iran-Contra scandal; forcing the resignation of Andrew Young, who served as the U.S. ambassador to the UN in the Carter administration; and conspiring to plot an assassination of U.S. President George H. W. Bush because he sought to pressure the Israeli government to make peace with the Palestinians.[36]

Zionist and Jewish leaders are accused of declaring war on Nazi Germany by way of an economic boycott announced in 1933.[37] In that sense, subsequent German repression of Jews is excused as reactive and defensive.

Sympathy for Germany and Condemnation of Allied War Atrocities

The *Barnes Review* is often sympathetic to Germany and its leaders, including Bismarck.[38] By contrast, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States since the administration of FDR often receive sharp criticism. Allied atrocities against Germany are a popular topic, such as the aerial bombardment of German cities.[39] The treatment of civilians in postwar Germany is decried, as many starved under conditions of privation and abuse by Allied soldiers, and many others in Poland and Czechoslovakia were expelled from their ancestral lands.[40]

Hitler is often presented as a misunderstood figure who has been unfairly maligned by "establishment historians."[41] The *Barnes Review* often points out positive aspects of the Third Reich. For example, it is noted that German workers enjoyed one of the world's highest standards of living during the Nazi era prior to the war. Women were supposed to have attained a high status under Hitler's regime, which recognized the importance of their various roles as mothers, homemakers, and workers.[42] The Nazi regime is defended for its tolerance of Christianity, in contrast to Bolshevism, under which it was severely repressed.[43] The Axis powers are portrayed as defenders of the West and Christendom against the atheistic Bolsheviks from the East. The contributions of non-Germans, such as the various foreign units that fought under the Waffen-SS, are heralded as well.[44]

Other figures related to fascism are also lauded. For example, Vidkun

Quisling, whose name became synonymous with traitor, was described as a Norse "patriot and hero without equal."[45] Admiral Nicholas Horthy, who ruled over a fascist regime in Hungary during World War II, was described as a "great leader and the perfect regent for Hungary [during] that perilous time."[46] Juan and Evita Perón, who were on cordial and friendly terms with the Axis powers, were portrayed as populists who had the best interests of their countrymen at heart.[47] So-called native American fascists that were active in the 1930s and sought to keep the United States out of World War II—for instance, George Deatherage, Ralph Townsend, William Dudley Pelley, Gerald B. Winrod, and Elizabeth Dilling—receive sympathetic treatment.[48]

By contrast, Allied military and political leaders—Dwight D. Eisenhower in particular—are often presented as less than competent.[49] President Woodrow Wilson is blamed for putting America on an internationalist course in foreign policy. According to the *Barnes Review*, Zionists blackmailed Wilson (through Colonel Edward Mandel House) into involving the United States in World War I. As such, Wilson is held responsible in part for setting the stage for World War II. Furthermore, under his tenure, the Federal Reserve was established along with the enactment of a progressive income tax.[50] The *Barnes Review* frequently call the legality of the Federal Reserve System into question.[51]

The British Prime Minister Winston Churchill is often depicted as an opportunist, a drunkard, and a generally unscrupulous man who plunged Europe into the maelstrom of war on behalf of Zionist handlers.[52] Arguably, no other leader comes under harsher criticism than Franklin Delano Roosevelt for numerous alleged wartime transgressions, including, purportedly allowing the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor; demanding the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers, which conceivably extended the length of the war; and giving away the fruits of victory to Stalin at Yalta.[53] Roosevelt is accused of owing his first presidential electoral victory to an alliance with the Jewish mobster Meyer Lansky.[54] Organized crime in America is seen in the main as the province of Jews with an Italian veneer.[55]

A staple of Liberty Lobby's conspiratorial corpus is the assertion that President Roosevelt had advance knowledge of an impending Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, but deliberately allowed it to occur without adequate defense. Moreover, it is claimed that he deliberately maneuvered the Japanese into attacking in order to justify American entrance into World War II.[56] In this vein, revisionists have sought to rehabilitate Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor during the time of the Japanese attack. His grandson, Tom Kimmel, a retired FBI official, has been an ardent defender of his grandfather, and he has given lectures on the topic at some of Carto's sponsored events.

Race and Nationalism

The *Barnes Review* defends nationalism as a healthy expression of affinity toward one's larger community.[57] By contrast, imperialism is decried and blamed for destructive overseas entanglements that have earned America the ire of the world.[58] Various nationalist struggles receive favorable treatment in the pages of the *Barnes Review*, with the exception of Zionism, which is often berated as hypocritical in that Diaspora Jews often promote multiculturalism in the West while extolling ethnic homogeneity for Israel.

The Southern Confederacy and its solders are often portrayed positively.[59] Conversely, the Union, President Lincoln, and the postwar Reconstruction era are described as shameful.[60] Previously, the *Spotlight* supported the nascent southern heritage movement that emerged around 2000.[61] The movement was galvanized by the controversy surrounding the public display of the Confederate flag.[62]

Articles on race often focus on the victimization of European whites throughout history. For example, the *Barnes Review* has detailed alleged atrocities by Native Americans against white settlers in North America.[63] The *Barnes Review* has published on the enslavement of white Europeans by North African Muslims on the Barbary Coast and in the Levant before A.D. 1500 until about 1830.[64] Late eighteenth century Haiti—where a slave revolt resulted in the massacre of the island nation's European populace—is cited as a harbinger of what is in store for America as it becomes more racially and ethnically diverse.[65]

The plight of whites in South African countries, such as Rhodesia and South Africa, has received attention in the *Barnes Review*. Postapartheid South Africa is depicted as an abject failure, as an experiment that has resulted in barbarism not only against whites, but blacks as well, as the country is plagued by violence, AIDS, and ethnic turmoil.[66] By contrast, South Africa under apartheid is viewed as a system that allowed for autonomy and self-determination for all races and ethnicities.[67]

Another popular topic in the *Barnes Review* is Aryan prehistory.[68] The prehistoric peoples that inhabited Europe are portrayed as far more advanced than the popular image of cave dwellers would suggest, as they mastered various crafts, hunting techniques, and other skills that enabled them to create impressive precivilizations.[69] The Scythians, an Indo-European nation that hailed from the plains of central Asia, are described as "racially Nordic."[70] Ancient Mesopotamia is heralded as the "cradle of civilization."[71] Ancient Aryans, such as the Ainu, were featured as the founders of an early civilization that eventually became Japan.[72] They were preceded by an ancient Caucasoid culture known as the Jomon, who may have been their ancestors.[73]

The ancient Aryans are credited with creating the Hindu civilization in the Indus Valley.[74] Early European settlements that predated the arrival of Columbus are examined as well.[75] The discovery of the remains of the so-called Kennewick man raised the possibility that Caucasoids inhabited the North American continent thousands of years earlier; this possibility was enthusiastically covered in the *Barnes Review*.[76]

In addition to the journal, there is also a *Barnes Review* website, from which supporters can purchase books, tapes, and other related items. Finally, the *Barnes Review* holds annual conferences at which various revisionists can converge, make contacts, and exchange ideas.

Conferences

The *Barnes Review* usually holds an annual conference in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. The conferences have attracted some important far right luminaries. The longtime conspiracy theorist Eustace Mullins has been a favorite at the conferences. Furthermore, he was listed as an advisory board member for Liberty Lobby's Populist Action Committee.[77] Prominent militia leaders, such as John Trochmann and Bob Fletcher, have also been featured guest speakers.[78] Edgar Steele, a maverick attorney whose clients include some notable far rightists, has been featured at recent *Barnes Review* conferences.[79] Far right activists often lecture on their particular areas of interest; these activists have included Paul Fromm, the Canadian immigration restriction advocate, and Ken Schmidt, a champion of populism and nationalism. Several scholars of Middle East history—Oleg Platonov, Nita Renfrew, and A. B. Kopanski—have lectured critically on Zionism, Israel, and American foreign policy in that region. Revisionists from foreign countries, such as Jürgen Graf, Frederick Töben, Germar Rudolf, James Bacque, and Udo Walendy frequently appear at *Barnes Review* conferences. Carto's employees, including Michael Collins Piper and Tom Valentine, often give short speeches and presentations.

Other figures not strictly affiliated with the far right, yet who share sympathies with certain aspects of revisionism for their own various reasons, have spoken at the conferences as well. For example, the former U.S. Representative from California Pete McCloskey spoke at previous *Barnes Review* and IHR conferences.[80] In 1980, the former Republican congressman incurred the wrath of the "Israeli lobby" after he questioned the desirability of America's close strategic relationship with Israel.[81]

Various Christian ministers and activists have presented lectures at these conferences, including Dale Crowley, Father John O'Connor, and Richard Kelly Hoskins. Hutton Gibson, the father of Hollywood movie star Mel Gibson, has attended *Barnes Review* conferences. At the 2003 conference, he presented a lecture titled "I'm a Roman Catholic, Not a Traditionalist." Both father and son subscribe to a puritanical strain of Catholicism that has been critical of some Vatican decisions over the past few decades. *American Free Press* praised Mel Gibson for his perseverance in the production and release of his controversial 2004 film, *The Passion of the Christ*.[82]

Occasionally, the *Barnes Review* recognizes people for their contributions to revisionism and related causes. For example, Carto and the *Barnes Review* honored the Polish-American activist, Jozef Mlot-Mroz, who had reportedly participated in 746 demonstrations, "been arrested 69 times, and hospitalized seven times in connection with his causes."[83] Mroz had founded the Anti-Communist Confederation of Polish Freedom Fighters in the U.S.A. Inc. He also edited an anti-Semitic magazine called *S.O.S.!!!, U.S.A., Ship of State*. In 2003, the *Barnes Review* bestowed a lifetime recognition award on Mroz for his indefatigable activism. Due to his advanced age and failing health, Mroz could not attend the conference.

As evidenced by his efforts with the *Barnes Review*, Carto continues to give high priority to revisionism. Despite numerous setbacks, Carto believes that he has done much to further the revisionist cause. Never to be deterred from spreading this and other messages, Carto launched *American Free Press* in the fall of 2001.

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Death and Rebirth?

The End of the *Spotlight* and the Emergence of *American Free Press*

After Liberty Lobby lost its civil battle with the IHR, it was forced into bankruptcy. In June 2001, Judge S. Martin Teel, Jr., ruled that Liberty Lobby had no authority to spend money, effectively rendering it incapable of carrying out its operations. Further, he ordered Liberty Lobby to surrender its assets to the IHR, and, as a result, ownership of the entity was conveyed to Mark Weber and his fellow plaintiffs. Liberty Lobby officially closed down in July 2001, and the Board of Policy was dissolved. Not surprisingly, Carto was disheartened to see the institution that he had spent decades building suddenly collapse. Once again, however, he and his former Liberty Lobby employees decided to start a new organization with no connection to, and no assistance from, what was left of Liberty Lobby. According to Carto, there was only one resignation.[1] Shortly after the *Spotlight* ceased publication, the newspaper was effectively reconstituted as *American Free Press*. It is owned by its employees, and it is identical in all but name to its predecessor. Carto reports that *American Free Press* has a readership council, not unlike Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, whose members can send extra support if they so choose and vote on issues that the paper should cover. Currently, Christopher J. Petherick serves as the paper's managing editor.

Carto's newspapers have been among the first public voices to give extensive coverage to issues that later attain great widespread attention in both American and international politics. The mainstream media frequently come under fire for their reluctance to report frankly on the pressing issues of the day. Consistent with its conspiratorial slant, *American Free Press* has frequently argued that the media in America are controlled by a "powerful interlocking combine." Unlike other extreme right media critiques, *American Free Press* does not argue that the Jews are the primary puppet-masters; rather, it has identified the Bilderberg Group as the dominant force exercising control over the media. To raise awareness of this alleged conspiracy, *American Free Press* occasionally releases a flyer called "The Media is the Enemy." A review of some of the stories covered in *American Free Press* is illustrative of the urgent tone of the paper. This chapter looks at the major issues that preoccupied both *American Free Press* and, to a lesser degree, the *Spotlight*, over the past few years.

The Bilderberg Group

Investigations of the Bilderberg Group continued in the *Spotlight*'s successor publication, *American Free Press*. Occasionally, a list of attendees at Bilderberg Group gatherings has been published in the paper. These attendees typically include numerous heads of major corporations, monarchs, high-ranking government officials, prominent representatives of the media, and leaders of political parties. James P. Tucker took the lead in covering the affairs of this elite group, doggedly following conferees at their annual meetings, which are closed to the public and the press. To bring attention to this issue, he published a book titled *Jim Tucker's Bilderberg Diary*, which chronicled his investigations of the group's conferences from 1975 to 2005.[2]

In recently years, one could infer a sense of *Schadenfreude* as *American Free Press* has reported that the most recent Iraq War supposedly opened up rifts between the American and European segments of the Bilderberg Group. At its annual meeting in 2002 in Chantilly, Virginia, the European segment was said to be angry that the United States was preparing for war against Iraq.[3] At the next annual meeting, which took place in April 2003 at the Trianon Palace in Versailles, France, the European participants were reportedly increasingly wary over continued U.S. support for Israel amid growing concern for that country's policies toward the Palestinians. Furthermore, they were skeptical of the Bush administration's recent "Roadmap for Peace"—with its various phases, timelines, target dates, and benchmarks—as a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[4] The paper was also skeptical about whether any real pressure had been placed on Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to pursue peace in the Middle East.[5] Surprisingly, David Rockefeller actually allowed Christopher Bollyn of *American Free Press* to take his picture as he made his way to the event.

After the May 2004 Bilderberg meeting that took in Stresa, Italy, *American Free Press* reported that many participants wanted to end the war in Iraq, to expand the various trade blocs, including the European Union and NAFTA, and to create an Asian-Pacific Union in the East.[6] Despite opposition to the Iraq war on the part of many of the European delegates, pro-Israel neoconservatives—including Richard Perle, Dennis Ross, Douglas Feith, and Richard Hass—were supposed to have exerted increasing influence at the annual meetings.[7] Italian plainclothes police officers apprehended *American Free Press* journalist James Tucker at the Grand Hotel des Iles Borromees, where the conference was being held. He was later released and no charges were filed.[8]

In May 2005, the Bilderberg Group held its annual meeting in Rottach-Egern, Germany. The Iraq war, increasing oil prices, and free trade agreements were high on the agenda. Israelis—including Eival Gilady and Nathan Sharansky—were said to have had a strong presence at the meeting, but they were urged to keep Israel's promise to withdraw from settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.[9] In June 2006, the Bilderberg Group held its annual meeting at the Brookstreet Resort near Ottawa, Canada. Tucker noted that the delegates expected a significant increase in interest rates, which could precipitate a housing collapse. The European delegation was adamantly opposed to a war against Iran, for which it feared the United States was preparing. Some delegates openly voiced criticism of Israel, suggesting a major split in establishment circles.[10]

In their coverage of Bilderberg Group meetings and the machinations of other "globalist" entities, *American Free Press* accounts are often murky and hard-to-follow, particularly in their points about the various parties involved and their influence over political and economic developments. I sought to elicit some clarification from Carto, who offered me his thoughts on the future of the Bilderberg Group and related "globalist" entities:

> WILLIS CARTO: They [Jews] have the universalistic dream where everybody is going to be a slave. And the plutocrats, they want essentially the same thing. But at some point I can just imagine the Anglo-plutocrats—the Bush types and the Queen of England types—sitting around with the Jews. And what's going to happen then? That's going to be a watershed. And if anybody thinks that the plutocrats are going to share with the Jews or the Jews are going to share with the plutocrats, he is totally crazy.
>
> GEORGE MICHAEL: How do you see this relationship between the plutocrats—the so-called Eastern establishment—and the Jews? Who do you really think pulls the strings?
>
> WC: I think it is shared interests. I don't think they really have come to the point yet that they have to start scheming against each other . . . . They're both after the same thing, which is mastery of the globe . . . . When they reach some point, the daggers have to come out. I mean the Jews aren't plutocrats. And the plutocrats aren't Jews. They are going to share power only until they get down too close to the bone, when they have to start nibbling with sharp teeth. I don't think it will hold together.
>
> GM: Are you optimistic that somehow these problems can be surmounted, that someday there will be an effective opposition that will be able to marshal grassroots support to effect change in America? And the western world by extension?
>
> WC: If I understand your question right, I can see as I say, at some point, the dollar has to crack. It has to shatter. Everything has to collapse. And when it does . . . . Well, I'll tell you what I really believe. There is one of two things. And both of them are pretty bad. Number one I sort of laugh, I find it kind of humorous that these old-line, old money people want a gold standard. They're going to get their gold standard. When the dollar goes down the tube, they're going to have their gold standard, because that will be the only money. That is one scenario, which isn't good. The other scenario isn't any better, but is really a condition of anarchy in this country where you have all these groups that are put together forcibly at each other's throats. And it could be very bloody.[11]

Immigration

As controversies surrounding the nation's immigration policies continued to deepen, the *Spotlight* and *American Free Press* frequently carried stories warning about the porous border with Mexico. Occasional skirmishes between U.S. border guards and Mexican military units have been presented as harbingers of a more serious conflict in the future.[12] The Mexican military has been accused of aiding and abetting drug runners to smuggle narcotics across the border.[13] The rhetoric of Mexican irredentists, such as representatives of Atzlan, has been understood as expressive of genuine aspirations to reconquer the American southwest.[14] The immigration issue has also been linked to other social issues, such as crime, education, welfare, and national identity.[15]

The Minuteman Project—a grassroots citizens' movement that seeks to discourage illegal immigration by patrolling the southwest border—has been praised for its efforts to stem the tide of illegal immigration on the U.S.-Mexican border. As *American Free Press* once editorialized, the Minutemen were doing the job that the U.S. government refused to do.[16] Critics of immigration in the Congress, including Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) and Representative Tom Tancredo (R-CO), were commended for speaking out on the crisis amid cries of racism and nativism.[17]

American Free Press has also tied immigration to racial issues. Projections that whites will be reduced to minority status—and that there will be a substantial increase in the Asian and Hispanic segments of the population—have been presented as a serious threat to the social fabric of the United States, as well as to its economy and national security.[18] Indeed, *American Free Press* has often argued that immigration impinges on national security. Despite all of the new antiterrorist measures, little of substance has allegedly been done to stem the tide of massive legal and illegal immigration, an issue that figured prominently in the aftermath of 9/11.[19] Finally, illegal immigration was said to undermine respect for the law. *American Free Press* stridently opposed amnesty measures proposed by the administration of George W. Bush to grant illegal immigrants legal residential status.[20] Bush was seen as betraying his Texas heritage, as he consistently caved in to the demands of Mexican President Vincente Fox with respect to immigration.[21]

Latin American Populism

The nativist tone of *American Free Press* notwithstanding, the paper has expressed support for populists south of the border, thus suggesting a rapprochement with some Latin Americans. In fact, in recent years *American Free Press* has championed Latin American political leaders that resist globalist organizations, such as the IMF. In 2003, Gonzalo Baeza, a native of Chile, began working as *American Free Press*'s South American bureau chief and wrote several articles praising Latin American populists. Argentine President Nestor Kirchner, whose country suffered a severe economic downturn in the early 2000s, was lauded for standing up to the IMF and insisting on better terms for the repayment of loans.[22] Elected as president in 2003, Kirchner was touted as a sincere nationalist who would not bow to the "stringent demands of the International Monetary Fund nor pay his country's voracious creditors" at the expense of the Argentine people.[23] By breaking off the shackles of the IMF, Argentina had improved its economy and was able to repay its foreign debt.[24] Sounding much like the far left, *American Free Press* has decried Yankee imperialism in the hemisphere in the guise of international bankers, including CitiGroup, FleetBoston, and David Rockefeller's JP Morgan.[25] Indebtedness to foreign banks and IMF austerity measures, according to some economic analyses, has contributed to the endemic poverty of that region of the world. With the decline of the U.S. dollar against other major currencies during the early 2000s, Latin American economic integration with the United States was portrayed as a drag on the economies of its southern neighbors.[26]

More than any other Latin American leader, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez has drawn praise from *American Free Press* for his populist orientation. The paper portrayed him as a noble visionary whose programs to combat poverty and illiteracy have brought hope to the impoverished masses of Latin America. In early 2006, *American Free Press* reporter Christopher Bollyn traveled to Venezuela to witness first hand the "revolutionary democracy" of Chavez and was very impressed by his efforts to help the poor in that country.[27] Chavez publicly opposed the role of the IMF in Latin America and called for a reduction of American influence in the region.

By contrast, the Bush administration, along with the World Bank and IMF, has been depicted as retrograde and more concerned with the interests of multinational corporations and Wall Street "gangsters."[28] In an episode that became something of an embarrassment for President Bush, in early 2006 Chavez provided low-cost oil to needy residents of Massachusetts so that they could pay for heating to get through the winter.[29] Chavez had earlier irritated the Bush administration for his public opposition to U.S. intervention in Colombia and the implementation of a new free trade regime—the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)—in Latin America. The FTAA was promoted by globalist organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).[30] Sharing many of the same enemies with Carto, Chavez was congratulated by *American Free Press* for earning the ire of neoconservatives, who allegedly plotted to overthrow him for fear that his populist message might spread throughout Latin America.[31] His economic reforms have gained popularity throughout Latin America.[32]

American Free Press accused the U.S. State Department and the CIA of planning to overthrow Chavez because of his recalcitrance toward the Bush administration. The National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—a private, nonprofit organization that receives funding from the U.S. Congress and the State Department—was cited as the main vehicle for this effort. It was pointed out that the NED chairman, Representative Vin Weber (R-MN), had connections to numerous neoconservative figures, including Jack Kemp, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and William Bennett. Directors of the NED also include Morton Abromowitz, a senior fellow at the CFR, General Wesley K. Clark, and Richard Holbrooke, the former U.S. ambassador to the UN during the Clinton administration. The NED was accused of fomenting a coup by funding opposition groups. Chavez was temporarily deposed on April 11, 2002, but was reinstated two days later during a popular uprising.[33] The Center for Security Policy—a Washington, D.C., think tank that over the years has included such neoconservative notables as Frank J. Gaffney, Jr., Donald Rumsfeld, Richard Perle, Douglas Feith, and Elliot Abrams—was accused by *American Free Press* of pressuring the Bush administration to seek regime change in Latin America after Gaffney wrote an article in the influential *National*

Review outlining strategies for dealing with anti-American regimes in that region of the world.[34] The U.S. government was criticized for granting refuge to Jose Augustin Guevara, who was wanted for his role in the assassination of Venezuelan state prosecutor, Danilo Anderson.

A threat to the globalists, Chavez was billed by the paper as a leader of a populist wave sweeping Latin America. Illustrative of this trend, *American Free Press* reported that, in April 2005, Ecuadorian President Lucio Gutierrez, a friend of the White House, was overthrown and replaced by Vice President Alfredo Palacio, who began pursuing a more populist economic program, including using oil revenues to benefit the people of his country. He was applauded by *American Free Press* for defying such globalist institutions as the IMF and the World Bank.[35] Despite this rapprochement with Latin America, Carto's papers remained hawkish toward China.

China

By the late 1990s, the *Spotlight* increasingly warned of the potential threat posed by China. Occasionally, the Asian superpower was conflated with Israel, as the latter was accused of supplying the former with highly sensitive and critical technology, including nuclear equipment.[36] The growing military strength of China, including its efforts to build a powerful navy to challenge U.S. hegemony in the Pacific, and the consequent threat to U.S. national security, has been a frequent topic in the pages of *American Free Press* as well.[37] The Clinton administration, his supporters in Congress, and corporate lobbyists have been excoriated for selling out American interests on the altar of free trade.[38] Not surprisingly, the *Spotlight* opposed granting China Most Favored Nation status (MFN) and entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO). The burgeoning Chinese economy, with its massive trade surplus with the United States, was presented as a serious threat to the American economy and standard of living. As China acquired massive holdings in U.S. Treasury bonds, it was feared that the emerging superpower could exert economic blackmail over the United States.[39] It was predicted that the national interests of the United States and China would diverge in the future.

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Although much attention has been given to China, the region of the world that has loomed largest in *American Free Press* has been the Middle East. Both the *Spotlight* and *American Free Press* have closely followed developments in the Islamic world, including the crisis in Iraq, the Israel-Palestinian conflict, and the civil war in Algeria. America's unstinting support for the

state of Israel has often been cited as the crux of the crisis in the Middle East. Furthermore, it has been argued that this support has been a tremendous drag on the American economy.[40]

With respect to the Middle East conflict, Liberty Lobby has usually taken a sympathetic position toward the Palestinians. The *Spotlight* often featured stories detailing Israeli atrocities against Palestinians, and it once carried an article by the articulate and mediagenic Palestinian spokeswoman, Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, who decried the negative depiction of Palestinians in the media.[41] In October 2000, the *Spotlight* warned about the escalation of what became known as the Al Aqsa Intifada.[42]

On the Palestinian issue, it is worth mentioning that in some ways, the gap between the far left and the far right may be narrowing. Increasingly, both movements share a critical view of Israeli policy toward the Palestinians. A case in point is that of Rachel Corrie, a 23-year old American student at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington; as a member of the International Solidarity Movement, in the spring of 2003 she took a semester off to work as a peace activist in Gaza. While there, she took part in a protest in which an Israeli driver using a bulldozer was preparing to knock down a Palestinian's house. Corrie stood between the bulldozer and the house and refused to move. However, the Israel driver ran her over, and she sustained injuries from which she ultimately died. Despite Corrie's presumably left-leaning political orientation, *American Free Press* eulogized her as an idealistic peace activist and listed organizations to which readers could write to help raise money and awareness of her sacrifice.[43] This story illustrates the fact that Carto has found common ground with elements of the contemporary left in his advocacy of noninterventionism. Throughout the 1990s, Carto's publications consistently opposed U.S. military intervention around the world, including in Kosovo, Latin America, and, especially, the Middle East. Indeed, Carto was one of the most strident critics of the first Gulf War.

Operation Desert Storm

Liberty Lobby opposed U.S. intervention in the 1991 Gulf War and editorialized that the conflict was being promoted by globalists for their own selfish ends. In that vein, the *Spotlight* carried stories that accused a coalition of conservatives and neoconservatives of lobbying to involve the United States in the war.[44] Charges of corruption were later leveled against both George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush, as the *Spotlight* claimed that the two had benefited from contracts that the Harken Energy Corp., in which they had a financial stake, and had received just seven months prior to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; these contracts, the *Spotlight* alleged, were for lucrative drilling rights for offshore gas reserves in Bahrain, a small Arab island emirate located off the coast of Saudi Arabia, about two hundred miles southeast of Kuwait. Moreover, it was alleged that foreign money—most notably from an entity called "Citizens For a Free Kuwait"—influenced American public opinion in favor of the war.[45] Not surprisingly, Liberty Lobby was been highly critical of both George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush. Of course, the Bush family has a long elite and "globalist' pedigree, which would certainly be troubling to Carto.[46]

In the aftermath of the war, the *Spotlight* carried stories detailing the perils of Gulf War Syndrome—on both American soldiers and Iraqis—which was possibly a result of depleted uranium, an ingredient used in the rounds of some U.S. military weapons. The *Spotlight* accused the U.S. government of callously ignoring this public health hazard.[47] Numerous articles sought to bring attention to a massive epidemic of severe birth defects in Iraq, which was attributed to these weapons.[48] To make matters worse, residue from depleted uranium used in weapons in the most recent Iraq war was supposedly detected in the atmosphere of Europe.[49] Later, *American Free Press* criticized the economic sanctions that were imposed on Iraq as a result of the first Gulf War, which resulted in extreme privation and the deaths of an estimated five hundred thousand Iraqi children who did not have access to the proper medical supplies.[50] It was warned that these callous policies would eventually enrage Muslims to such an extent that they would lash out at America, possibly with devastating effect.

9/11 and Its Aftermath

The horrific attacks visited upon the United States on September 11, 2001, seemed to have a catalyzing effect on the American far right. At first, there was a sense of vindication insofar as various issues about which the movement feels strongly—for instance, immigration and American foreign policy in the Middle East—figured prominently in this event and its aftermath. In fact, it was hard not to detect a degree of *schadenfreude* and excitement in the tone of some of representatives of the extreme right immediately after 9/11.[51] After all, they professed to know the "real reason" why America had been attacked, namely, America's unflagging support for Israel. However, the mood soon soured, as fears of a protracted war in the Middle East appeared likely. Furthermore, the government, empowered with new laws, such as the Patriot Act, had greater authority to crack down on dissidents. Almost immediately, *American Free Press* questioned the official version of the events surrounding 9/11. Instead, the tragedy was often attributed to that perennial bugbear, the Israeli Mossad.

Mossad Conspiracy Theories

Israeli spying on American soil is a popular topic in the pages of *American Free Press*. The case of Jonathan Pollard, a civilian employee of the U.S. Navy, who was arrested in 1985 for passing classified documents to Israel, was not considered an isolated incident, but rather indicative of a larger pattern whereby Israeli operatives and their Jewish American coconspirators were given virtual free reign over sensitive national security information. Furthermore, *American Free Press* accused the American media of virtually ignoring such malfeasance.[52]

Michael Collins Piper conjectured that the Israeli government may have had a role in the first World Trade Center bombing in February 1993. He cited an article by investigative journalist Robert I. Friedman that appeared in *The Village Voice* that claimed that one of Ramzi Yousef's accomplices, Ahmed Ajaj, may have been a Mossad mole. To add further suspicion, Piper pointed out that a key player in the subsequent investigation, Neil Herman, who at that time served as the head of the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force, would briefly assume the position of director of fact-finding at the ADL after he retired from the FBI in 1999.[53] In 2003, *American Free Press* actually ran a sympathetic story suggesting that Sheikh Omar Adbel Rahman was framed by federal authorities.[54] Rahman was convicted in connection with the 1993 World Trade Center attack masterminded by Ramzi Yousef, and with a terrorist plot that came to be known as "The Day of Terror," in which the circle planned to simultaneously blow up the United Nations complex, the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels, the George Washington Bridge, the 26 Federal Plaza building, as well as assassinate New York Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, New York State Assemblyman Dov Hikind, and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.[55]

In the summer of 2003, Gordon Thomas, an accomplished journalist and author, began writing for *American Free Press*. Prior to his arrival, he authored several best-selling nonfiction books, including *Gideon's Spies: The Secret History of the Mossad* and *Robert Maxwell: Israel's Superspy*. Previously, the *Spotlight* had favorably reviewed Thomas' books. Total sales from all of his books were reported to be over forty-five million.[56] His criticisms of the Israeli intelligence agency, however, occasioned much criticism in turn from the ADL, which labeled him as an "anti-Israel author." For his part, Thomas rejected this characterization, as he noted that he had a huge network of correspondents and contacts, many in high places, within Israel. Moreover, he accused the ADL of blacklisting his book among booksellers and reviewers.[57] As a result, Thomas found fewer outlets for his writing. Carto appeared pleased to pick up such a prominent author to write for *American Free Press*.

During his tenure at the paper, Thomas wrote several stories on the cloak and dagger world of intelligence, with special focus on the Mossad, and to a lesser degree on the Chinese Secret Intelligence Service, the British MI6, and the CIA.[58] In 2004, Thomas left *American Free Press* without fanfare.

Not long after the 9/11 attacks, *American Free Press* began reporting stories implicating Israel in the tragedy, including a bizarre account involving five Israeli citizens, who were caught filming the attacks on the WTC towers while they celebrated raucously. Authorities arrested the men and discovered several interesting items in their van, including box cutters, $4,700 in cash stuffed in a sock, and foreign passports. To some observers, the implication was that Israeli agents had a hand in the attacks.[59] To add more suspicion to the story was the fact that Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon cancelled a scheduled trip to New York prior to the attack, allegedly after the Shabak, the Israeli General Security Apparatus, prevented him from traveling.[60] Michael Collins Piper suspected that 9/11 was a "false flag" operation designed to implicate Arabs in a massive terrorist strike so that the U.S. government would unleash a ferocious attack on Israel's enemies in the region.[61] Piper later reported on a massive Israeli spying operation that was uncovered by U.S. government agents in the months prior to 9/11.[62] A version of the story was also carried on Fox News by Carl Cameron.[63] The theme of Israeli duplicity is common. For example, shortly after the attacks on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in August 1998, the *Spotlight* speculated that the operation was orchestrated by Israel in an effort to embroil the U.S. in a war with the Arab world.[64]

The theory that seems to have gained the most currency in extreme right circles, though, is that the Israeli Mossad allegedly had foreknowledge of the 9/11 attacks and deliberately failed to warn the Americans. The narrative usually went something like this: The horrific terrorist attacks of 9/11 would provoke a ferocious response by the U.S. government. Moreover, the ensuing war on terror would not be limited to al Qaeda, the Taliban, and Afghanistan. Eventually it would encompass Iraq and other Muslim nations, including Syria and Iran. Meanwhile, Ariel Sharon could take care of Israel's Palestinian problem, as the world's attention was focused elsewhere. Thus, the great beneficiary would be Israel in that its chief geopolitical rivals in the region would be defanged and its restive Palestinian population would be subdued.

Piper strongly believes that the Mossad has both penetrated and directed al Qaeda to serve the national interests of Israel. To buttress his assertion, he notes that Israeli-connected moving companies were present around the sites at which the 9/11 events occurred.[65] After Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, al Qaeda's chief of operations, was arrested, Piper reported that Mohammed

had told U.S. interrogators that the Sears Tower in Chicago was an intended target for the terrorist group. Piper found it more than coincidental that Israeli operatives taken into custody not long after 9/11 allegedly carried detailed videotapes of the Sears Tower. The implication was that al Qaeda was unwittingly being directed by the Mossad.[66] Piper is skeptical about how autonomous the movement of radical Islam really is, and he suspects that Israeli intelligence has provided aid and direction to several Islamist and Palestinian rejectionist groups in an effort to discredit them. He cites the research of the British journalist, Patrick Seale, who claimed that Abu Nidal was financed and directed by the Israeli Mossad in order to delegitimize the Palestinian movement.[67]

In 2005, *American Free Press* released a compilation of articles in a single volume called *Debunking 9/11*, which advanced a variety of conspiracy theories surrounding the events of September 11, 2001. Some stories claimed that 9/11 was orchestrated by neoconservatives to use as a *casus belli* for war in the Middle East.[68] Others identified the U.S. government as a culprit, asserting that the CIA, or some other government agency, had pre-positioned explosives in the World Trade Center towers that were detonated at the time or shortly after the planes collided into the towers.[69] Still other theories postulated that Israel was the real culprit, and that Israel hoped that the horrific attacks would provoke the U.S. into a war in the Middle East in which the U.S. would lash out at Israel's Arab enemies.[70]

Obviously, not all of the stories could be true, as some are contradictory and mutually exclusive. By propounding such a myriad of theories, in effect, *American Free Press* has added to much confusion, and in doing so, it has arguably discredited all of them.

Not long after 9/11, several letters laced with the deadly biological agent anthrax were sent to the offices of Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) and representatives of the media. According to one account, some top CIA and FBI officials had suspected that domestic extremists were responsible for the anthrax attacks.[71] The FBI's investigation focused on Dr. Steven J. Hatfill, who once worked as a research scientist at Fort Detrick, Maryland, and who had had spent time in South Africa, where he was affiliated with the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) (a far right pro-Afrikaner group). However, after a thorough investigation, the FBI essentially cleared Hatfill of any connection to the anthrax attacks. *American Free Press* mused that the FBI was covering up the investigation insofar as it would lead to someone, or some people, who were involved in secret activities in the past that the government would prefer not to see disclosed.[72]

The 9/11 Commission empanelled by Congress to determine the causes of the devastating terrorist attacks was characterized by *American Free Press* as a "cover-up" that sought to conceal and whitewash the real reasons that America was left vulnerable to such attacks.[73] As is now well known, through the Pakistani Interservice Intelligence (ISI), the CIA aided and abetted various elements of the mujahideen that fought the Soviets in the Afghan War. As part of this anti-Soviet effort, some U.S. foreign aid found its way to madrassas in which students received extensive indoctrination in Koranic studies and radical Islam, and which therefore amounted to incubators of future terrorists.[74] Eventually, this blowback contributed to 9/11, which, it was warned, would then be used as a pretext to launching a war to remake the Middle East as a more congenial place for Israel.

Operation Enduring Freedom

Just weeks after the 9/11 tragedy, *American Free Press* questioned the U.S. government's motives in the war on terror. According to Michael Collins Piper, neoconservatives were the principal party clamoring for a broad war that would ultimately encompass not only Afghanistan, but eventually Iraq, Iran, and Syria as well.[75] Piper warned that the financial cost of the conflict could be enormous..[76]

In a guest column, Carto drew parallels between the 9/11 attacks and the December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Both events, he noted, were surrounded in intrigue. Commenting on his mentor, Lawrence Dennis, Carto predicted that 9/11 would lead to a massive increase in government spending to meet the cost of the war on terror, not unlike how Pearl Harbor ushered in the massive fiscal undertaking to finance American involvement in World War II. As Carto saw it, international bankers stood to benefit from the most recent tragedy.[77]

Occasionally, oil was identified as a factor in the upcoming conflict. *American Free Press* journalist Christopher Bollyn saw ulterior motives for the war, such as control of petroleum and gas supplies in the Middle East and Caspian Basin. U.S. military intervention, Bollyn argued, was just the most recent version of the "Great Game" to control the flow of oil through Afghanistan.[78] Conspiracy theorists, most notably, from the political left, often invoke oil as a primary factor in the current war on terror. Of course, there is scattered evidence to support such a theory. After all, the American, Russian, and Chinese governments have all given serious consideration to Afghanistan as a prospective site for constructing pipelines. The journalist Ahmed Rashid christened this geopolitical contest as the "Great Game II." As he pointed out, the Clinton administration had sought to assist a U.S. firm, Unocal, in its effort to build an oil pipeline to pump gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Pakistan. The Pakistani intelligence agency, ISI, urged the United States to support the Taliban insofar as it would make Unocal's project more feasible.[79]

Far right critics warned that U.S. military intervention would not stop in Afghanistan. Rather, it would expand to other countries in the Middle East, including Iran, Syria, and Iraq.

Operation Iraqi Freedom

In the months leading up to the most recent Gulf War, *American Free Press* became one of the most vociferous critics of the Bush administration and its Middle East foreign policy. The paper was quick to point out that the U.S. government had had a hand in enabling Saddam Hussein's military capabilities. For example, during the 1980s, covert U.S. support had been provided to Iraq in its war against Iran, whose influence the United States wanted to contain in the region. In 1983 and 1984, then President Reagan sent his envoy, Donald Rumsfeld, to Baghdad to meet President Saddam Hussein and reopen relations with Iraq. Soon thereafter, shipments of germs, toxins, and equipment necessary to produce chemical and biological weapons were sent to Iraq.[80] Saddam Hussein was described as a longtime "instrument" of the CIA, who carried out several sordid tasks on behalf of the agency.[81]

Consistent with this position of nonintervention, Carto was highly critical after 9/11 of the Bush administration's plans for war against Iraq. Actually, Carto mentioned that *American Free Press* received numerous complaint letters for the paper's opposition to the war.[82] Be that as it may, the paper persisted in its campaign against intervention and reported on antiwar demonstrations around the country in which elements of both the political left and right participated.[83] In late 2005, *American Free Press* was the only U.S. news outlet to participate in the founding conference of the "Axis for Peace," which was held at the International Press Center in Brussels, Belgium. Christopher Bollyn attended the conference as the *American Free Press* representative. At the conference, an international coalition, including more than one hundred fifty participants from thirty-seven nations, was formed to oppose the U.S.-led war in Iraq. The two-day conference brought together various political leaders, diplomats, military officers, intellectuals, and opinion-makers from both the political left and right.[84] The event was sponsored by the Paris-based Voltaire Network for Freedom of Speech and hosted by the French activist Theiry Meyssan, whose controversial book, *L´ Effroyable Imposture* (The Horrifying Fraud), posits that conservative Republicans in the Bush administration orchestrated the attacks. Meyssan advances the theory that no plane actually struck the Pentagon; rather, it was a missile fired by the U.S. military that supposedly caused the damage to the structure. Amazingly, his book has gained considerable popularity in France and Europe.

Seeking to mobilize a broad-based coalition against the war, *American Free Press* carried editorials by antiwar activists and spokespersons from across the political spectrum.[85] Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV), Representative Jim Moran (D-VA), and former Representatives Pete McCloskey (R-CA) and Paul Findley (R-IL) were praised for their opposition to the war.[86] *American Free Press* supported McCloskey's 2006 bid to retake a congressional seat that he had left in 1982 when he ran instead for the Senate.[87] As previously mentioned, McCloskey has been an occasional speaker at conferences sponsored by Carto and the IHR. Cynthia McKinney, the outspoken African American Democratic congresswoman from Georgia, received kudos for her public criticism of Israel.[88] Representative Betty McCollum (D-MN) was defended after she announced that she would bar American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) from her office on Capitol Hill, after the lobbying group had publicly criticized her.[89] Soon after the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom, Representative Ron Paul (R-TX), whose columns are frequently reprinted in *American Free Press*, warned that the cost of continuing military operations in Iraq would be unbearable.[90] As the war progressed, Paul became increasingly critical of the war. The Patriot Act also came under fire in his writings.[91]

Reaching out to the political left, Gore Vidal, described as a "left-wing populist," was applauded for his criticism of the Bush administration and its war plans.[92] Even archliberal Michael Moore was praised for speaking out against the war.[93] *American Free Press* reported enthusiastically as antiwar rallies occurred in scattered cities around the world.[94] Despite its opposition to the war, *American Free Press* nevertheless praised American POWs, such as Jessica Lynch, for their service to their country.[95]

As the build-up to the second Gulf War was underway, *American Free Press* cast doubts about the presence of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq. According to its analysis, the purported WMDs were used as ploys to justify a preemptive war on Iraq. Pro-Israel neoconservatives, such as Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle, the head of the Defense Policy Board, were identified as the principal culprits in the push for war.[96] High-ranking administration officials were accused of making fraudulent intelligence claims to make the case for war against Iraq.[97] Later events and evidence added credibility to these charges. In May 2005, the story of the "Downing Street Memo" became public; the memo disclosed that a former defense aide—Matthew Rycroft—had alerted British Prime Minister Tony Blair in July 2002 that the Bush administration had doctored intelligence reports on WMD in order to justify military aggression against Iraq.[98] Furthermore, *American Free Press* claimed that Israeli intelligence had misled their American and British counterparts by providing exaggerated assessments of Iraq's WMD capabilities.[99]

To make matter worse, the Bush administration's policies of preemption and unilateralism, *American Free Press* editorialized, alienated many allies around the world and even threatened to spur a renewed Cold War.[100] In a guest column, Carto predicted that American manufacturers would lose much market share in the Islamic world to European, Chinese, and Russian producers, due to the ill will generated from intervention in the Middle East.[101] In order to forge the "coalition of the willing," *American Free Press* argued, Washington had had to mete out what amounted to billions of dollars in bribes in the form of debt forgiveness, foreign aid, and military aid to nations such as Poland, Spain, Portugal, the Czech Republic, and Hungary.[102] As early as April 2003, *American Free Press* predicted that the cost of the conflict would be enormous and plunge the U.S. government more deeply into debt.[103]

Tying into its critique of neoconservatism, *American Free Press* reported that prominent members of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) were slated to run the newly created Iraqi government.[104] Ahmed Chalabi, the leader of the Iraqi National Congress, who originally received strong support from the Bush Administration, was depicted as an unscrupulous and corrupt opportunist with a tarnished past.[105] He was accused of war profiteering and of conspiring with an Israeli lawyer, Marc Zell, who was connected to the prominent Pentagon neoconservative, Douglas Feith, who in turn was in the forefront of the effort to persuade President George Bush to wage war against Iraq.[106] Iyad Allawi, who assumed the position of interim Iraqi prime minister in June 2004, was scorned as someone who had earlier betrayed his country by spying on behalf of Great Britain and the United States. Furthermore, he was accused of providing bogus information on WMDs and of having exaggerated threat assessments of Saddam Hussein to create a pretext for the invasion of Iraq.[107]

Just who stood to benefit from the impending war? In May 2004, *American Free Press* was quick to point out that the New York-based Jewish newspaper, the *Forward*, had announced that Israel was the principal beneficiary in the war against Iraq, since overthrowing Saddam Hussein had eliminated "Israel's most serious existential threat."[108] George W. Bush was characterized as a puppet, whose strings were pulled by the neoconservatives.[109] Numerous high-powered neoconservatives and their "hangers-on" were accused of profiting from the war as they secured lucrative contracts from the federal government for war and subsequent reconstruction efforts.[110] Halliburton—a company for which Dick Cheney had served as chief executive prior to running for vice president—came under harsh criticism for war profiteering.[111]

As the insurgency picked up momentum in the early summer of 2003, *American Free Press* was one of the first papers to predict a protracted guerilla war in Iraq.[112] The assessment was not a sanguine one, as it was expected that the long occupation would undermine troop morale.[113] By late summer of 2003, *American Free* Press was drawing parallels to the earlier U.S. quagmire in Vietnam.[114] As the insurgency gained strength in early 2004, the Pentagon was accused of trying to conceal the number of American casualties in the war.[115] To make matters worse, the U.S. government was criticized for failing to provide adequate health care to war-injured veterans.[116] By April 2004, *American Free Press* was calling the war "unwinnable," a theme that it has repeated numerous times since then.[117] As the casualties in the conflict continued to mount, the paper ominously reported that the draft might be reinstituted to replenish the ranks of the armed forces, since many servicemen chose not to reenlist and the military was recruiting fewer volunteers.[118] Raising these fears, Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY) introduced a bill in the House to reinstitute the draft, arguing that the voluntary system placed an unfair burden on lower- and middle-class Americans.[119] When this did not bear fruit, the military was accused of implementing a "backdoor draft," in which members of the Individual Ready Reserve were reactivated for tours of duty after their regular enlistments had ended.[120] In order to avoid a shortfall, the military lowered its standards and allegedly broke some rules—including accepting high school dropouts, drug users, and convicted criminals—in order to meet recruiting quotas.[121] Interestingly, the Southern Poverty Law Center argued in a similar vein, reporting in the summer of 2006 that the military had relaxed its policies by allowing right-wing extremists to serve in its ranks.[122] Indicative of growing war weariness was an increasing desertion rate: by spring 2005, an estimated five to six thousand military personnel had refused to serve since the start of the Iraq war.[123]

The conduct of the coalition forces came under fire, as Iraqi civilians were often the victims of collateral damage and reckless mistakes.[124] According to *American Free Press*, the only WMD used during the war came not from Saddam's forces, but rather from the coalition forces in the form of massive ordnance blasts that were so vividly displayed in the "shock and awe" bombing of Baghdad.[125] The American media and the government were accused of concealing the human suffering of the war.[126] One story claimed that up to one hundred thousand Iraqi civilians had been killed in U.S. air strikes.[127] Moreover, occupation authorities were criticized for siphoning off badly needed revenue needed for human services in Iraq, such as health care, which resulted in thousands of Iraqi children perishing.[128] The U.S. military was accused of using banned chemical weapons—including white phosphorous, a mixture similar to napalm—on Iraqi civilians and guerilla fighters.[129] Further, the U.S. military was held responsible for the wholesale looting that ensued after the fall of Baghdad—looting that included the ransacking of museums in which many rare and valuable artifacts were stolen and destroyed.[130]

The prisoner abuse scandal received coverage in *America Free Press* long before it did in the mainstream media. In the summer of 2003, Gordon Thomas reported on the American abuse of Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib facility, months before the story made headlines in the spring of 2004.[131] When the scandal began to unfold, the paper alleged that civilian contractors, under the direction of Israeli nationals, were responsible for the abuses at the prison.[132] U.S. military authorities were accused of employing members of Shin Bet—one of Israel's secret services—to work as interrogators to break Iraqi prisoners of war.[133]

The trial of former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was reported as a sham, with claims that its organizers were more concerned with creating a spectacle than with meting out justice.[134] The prosecution was faulted for preventing Saddam from mounting an adequate defense.[135] Although pronounced a prisoner of war, Saddam, according to *American Free Press*, was denied his rights as guaranteed by the Geneva Convention.[136]

After the historic Iraqi elections in January 2005, *American Free Press* raised doubts about the integrity of the vote, suggesting that it lacked transparency and was marked by widespread voter fraud. The process was described as seriously flawed and designed to allow the occupying powers—which, according to *American Free Press*, included the senior fellows of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), and a former legislative director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Kenneth Wollack—to select the new Iraqi government.[137]

The Afghan theater was depicted in *American Free Press* as a failure as well. Stories of a renascent Taliban that sought to retake control of Afghanistan began appearing in *American Free Press* in April 2003. Conditions outside of Kabul began to deteriorate and lawlessness ensued in many areas of the country.[138] Furthermore, the nation-building project in that country was presented as corrupt and dubious; for example, it was reported that opium cultivation and heroin production had increased substantially after the fall of the Taliban and the creation of the new government led by Hamid Karzai.[139]

Presciently, *American Free Press* reported back in April 2003 that after Operation Iraqi Freedom, Iran would probably be next in the crosshairs of the Bush administration.[140] Adding further to these suspicions, *American*

Free Press alleged that Lawrence Anthony Franklin, a Defense Intelligence Agency official, passed classified documents about Iran to AIPAC, which were in turn leaked to Israel. Franklin was alleged to have had longstanding ties to the Israeli Mossad.[141] *American Free Press* suggested that his arrest was just the tip of the iceberg, claiming that AIPAC's penetration of U.S. national security was very deep.[142] By January 2005, the paper reported that American and British Special Forces were already conducting operations in Iran as a prelude to a more extensive military intervention.[143] A strike against Iran, it was warned, would be reckless and would imperil the United States, as the Iranian Army could match an overstretched U.S. military and wage terror in the region.[144] Complicit in this buildup to aggression were the American media, which reported on Iran and its putative threat to the United States, thereby preparing Americans for war with that country.[145] The close proximity of Israeli nuclear warheads to Iran was portrayed as a compelling reason for Iran to develop a nuclear program.[146]

In an interview, Carto offered his thoughts on the growing conflict in the Middle East:

> We're heading toward a terrible situation where American power can literally destroy the world. It looks like he [Bush] is trying to do it. It's frightening. No country can control the world. It never has been able to . . . . Our foreign policy is to clear out the Middle East for Israeli hegemony. That's what it amounts to. Using our money, our weapons, and our man and woman power in the Army to do it for the Israelis. That's what it is all about . . . . Israel is the elephant in the living room that you don't want to talk about . . . . Everybody knows it subconsciously. They all know it. There's no doubt about it . . . . [But] they're all afraid of it.[147]

If the situation in Iraq continues to deteriorate, it is conceivable that the extreme right's critique of American foreign policy in the region could become more mainstream. There are some indications that this development is already underway. For example, two prominent academics—John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago, and Stephen Walt of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government—released a working paper in 2006 titled "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy." In it, they assert that the various interest groups lobbying on behalf of Israel have subverted foreign policy in the Middle East to the great detriment of the national interests of the United States.[148] The report occasioned considerable controversy. Its critics, such as Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz, were quick to point out the stylistic parallels between the study and traditional anti-Semitic canards of Jewish dual loyalty and malfeasance. Dershowitz even asserted that the authors had culled information from "hate sites" on the World Wide Web for information used in the report. Although these allegations appear unsubstantiated and spurious, the paper nevertheless contained motifs, such as purported Jewish media power and manipulation of the political system, that have formed the basis of classic anti-Semitic narratives. Moreover, the report was received enthusiastically by representatives of the extreme right, including David Duke, who expressed satisfaction that his criticisms of Israel had been vindicated by such esteemed academics.[149] In addition, the paper was well received by some in the Middle East. Spokespersons for Hamas, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Muslim Brotherhood complimented and distributed the paper.[150] The controversy also illustrated the power of the Internet, without which the paper would probably not have received nearly as much coverage. Seeking to distance itself from the controversy, the administration at Harvard removed the school's logo from the report, which was posted on the university's website. However, the controversy refused to go away and was covered by several leading newspapers. In an article in *American Free Press*, Michael Collins Piper lauded the paper, claiming that it demonstrated that criticism of American foreign policy toward Israel was not restricted to "haters" and "extremists."[151]

The Home Front

On the home front, *American Free Press* was highly critical of new antiterror measures that threatened to abridge civil liberties. Most notable in this regard, the Patriot Act came under fire, and the paper reported on growing grassroots opposition to the bill.[152] Not unlike the political left, *American Free Press* carried articles that criticized the treatment of detainees rounded up in the aftermath of 9/11.[153] Even the plight of alleged "dirty bomber" Jose Padilla received sympathetic attention in the paper, insofar as he was held in jail without being formally charged with a crime.[154]

The newly created Department of Homeland Security (DHS) came under fire as well. Michael Collins Piper was quick to point out that Michael Chertoff, appointed to replace Tom Ridge as Secretary of DHS in January 2005, was closely associated with pro-Israel, activists including the prominent neoconservatives, Irving and William Kristol. In 1992, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) bestowed its Distinguished Public Service Award on Chertoff.[155] What is more, his wife is reportedly a regional functionary of the ADL. Piper charged Chertoff with releasing members of an extensive Israeli spy ring that was apprehended around the time of 9/11.[156] Chertoff was depicted as a civil libertarian's worst nightmare. While serving as head of the Justice Department's criminal division, Chertoff advised CIA operatives on the permissibility of torturing detainees held at U.S. prison camps in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay.[157] Attorney General Alberto Gonzales was criticized for his controversial approval of torture for interrogation purposes under certain conditions, as evidenced by a memorandum he wrote when he served as counsel to the president.[158] In order to circumvent U.S. law, the CIA allegedly ran a network of secret facilities for captured detainees in eight foreign countries that permitted torture as an interrogation method.[159]

American Free Press argued that the government was trying to stifle the growing public dissent on the war. Most notable is this regard was a bill introduced by Senator Rick Santorum (R-PA) that called for the withholding of federal funds to colleges and universities that were found to permit professors, students, and student organizations to unduly criticize Israel. Supposedly, Santorum introduced the legislation to curry favor with the Israel lobby. Several Jewish organizations—including the ADL, the Hillel, the Zionist Organization of America, and the American Jewish Committee—allegedly met with Santorum and Senators Sam Brownback (R-KS), Robert Bennet (R-UT), Norm Coleman (R-MN), Bill Frist (R-TN), Lindsey Graham (R-SC), and George Voinovich (R-OH) to devise a strategy to pass the bill.[160] A House version of the bill, sponsored by Peter Hoekstra (R-MI), was passed on October 21, 2003, but failed to pass in the Senate.[161] A similar bill was introduced in the House by Patrick Tiberi (R-OH) in 2006.[162]

The survival of *American Free Press* has demonstrated the durability and tenacity of Willis Carto. The paper's circulation is roughly 40,000, not far below the *Spotlight's* circulation of 50,000 when it ceased publication. Furthermore, the *Barnes Review* is now the most widely distributed revisionist journal. Finally, Carto still organizes conferences that draw crowds in the low hundreds—a considerable feat by American far right standards. Nearly all observers wrote him off after his loss in the battle with the IHR. However, as of 2007, the eighty-one-year-old Carto works a full-time schedule that would tire most men half his age. His influence on the American far right remains undeniable. But in the larger scheme of American politics, just how significant has he been? The conclusion seeks to answer this and other questions.

19

Conclusion

Willis Carto and the Postwar American Far Right

As has been argued throughout this book, no other figure has had more influence on the postwar American radical right than Willis Carto. But in the larger context of American politics, just how consequential is this? After all, arguably, the most distinguishing characteristic of this movement has been its weakness. As Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab point out, several characteristics endemic to the American political system seem to inhibit far right movements from arriving at any kind of enduring success. Owing to the nature of the American political party system, the mainstream political parties are able to co-opt the issues that fuel right-wing extremism. The first-past-the-post, or plurality, electoral system also militates against the development of fringe political parties on the right and left. What is more, in plurality systems, especially in a big country like the United States, it is unlikely for minor parties to compete successfully in elections. The two-party system in a nation as large and diverse as the United States encourages political moderation. Finally, the wide availability and character of education in America is believed to have fostered a high level of "democratic restraint."[1]

One could add to that list the widespread prosperity of the country as a factor that has inhibited right-wing extremism in the United States. At the present time, Carto believes that the average American is still generally satisfied with his life circumstances and too preoccupied with work and other activities to get involved in politics. As he sees it, as long as most of the American people can pay their bills, own a car and television, and take vacations, they will be generally satisfied and reject any kind of radical politics.[2] Yet in the long run, Carto believes that the current economic prosperity is unsustainable:

> I can't see there being any significant political movement in this country until a real economic calamity, a real economic collapse, which has to come. I've been saying that for years. It hasn't come. But the financial picture for the government is unbelievably horrendous. The govern-

> ment is literally bankrupt. There's no chance of it ever getting out of bankruptcy. The only possible thing that I can see is that it has to fall off the side of the cliff. When it does in this country, I think we are going to miss the point of political corrective action. I think we can forget about it with our present institutions. I think when there is a real economic collapse there is going to be a revolutionary situation created overnight. This will be far reaching with fundamental changes and it will not be for the better.[3]

The extreme right has frequently predicted an economic collapse that will usher in a revolutionary period and radicalize whites out of their complacency. In a sense, their analysis is Marxian, as it presages the demise of contemporary capitalism.[4] Escalating federal budget deficits in the 2000s have been seen as further proof of a vulnerable economy that is dependent on borrowing to sustain current standards of living—a situation that Carto feels is untenable in the long run.[5]

Besides economics, there are other trends that could increase the salience of the far right in upcoming years. Most notably, multiculturalism and massive immigration could engender a crisis of national unity—a claim that the far right has made for many years, but is increasingly being made by mainstream observers as well. For example, in 2004, the esteemed Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington released a book, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, in which he argued that the massive Hispanic, primarily Mexican, migration to the United States constituted the greatest challenge to the country's national unity. Furthermore, the rise of multiculturalism and the demise of the assimiliationist ethic have contributed to a predicament, which could conceivably divide America "into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages."[6] The rise of various group identities based on race and ethnicity threaten to diminish the larger American national identity, which Huntington believes is essential for the long-run survival of the country as a unified political entity. Paradoxically, as Huntington points out, leaders among the elite in American politics, business, media, and academia have been in the forefront to deconstruct the nation, a situation that he notes is "quite possibly, without precedent in human history."[7] Eventually these trends, Huntington predicts, could engender a backlash in the form of a new white nativism:

> It would, indeed, be extraordinary and possibly unprecedented in human history if the profound demographic changes occurring in America did not generate reactions of various sorts . . . .
>
> The actual and prospective continuing loss in power, status, and numbers by any social, ethnic, racial, or economic group almost always leads to efforts by that group to stop or reverse those losses. In 1961 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the population was 43 percent Serb and 26 percent Muslim. In 1991 it was 31 percent Serb and 44 percent Muslim. In 1990 the population of California was 57 percent white and 26 percent Hispanic. In 2040 it is predicted to be 31 percent white and 48 percent Hispanic. The probability that, in this comparable situation, California whites will react like Bosnia Serbs is about zero. The probability that they will not act at all is about zero.[8]

Despite the salience of these critical issues and the far right's concerns about them, the movement generally remains weak and ineffectual. So what has been the net effect of Willis Carto's work? Some would argue that, in the larger scheme of things, it has amounted to virtually nothing.[9] However, within the far right, his influence has been enormous, as John George and Laird Wilcox have noted:

> [W]hatever else one can say of Willis Carto, it is clear that he, more than any individual, has been responsible for giving form to the ragtag band of citizens who make up the rightist fringe. Carto has attempted to ride herd on a very difficult and contentious band of rugged individualists, prima donnas, loners, and nut cases with predictably marginal results. Some critics on the right say that Carto's failures have been caused by his autocratic personality, but it's doubtful anyone else could have done better.[10]

Looking back on his career, Carto is dismissive. When I asked him about his effort to unite the right over the course of his career, he responded:

> That was a fundamental error. I had to learn as many, many others have learned, that such a noble sounding goal is impractical and impossible, a waste of time, a waste of effort. These various groups and organizations, and leaders, under no circumstances are they going to join together. They all have their own ideas on how to do things and none of them work. That certainly is not the way to do it. I was wrong all those years. It took a long time for me to find out . . . .
>
> The only way this can be surmounted is to have one personality, one leader, extremely intelligent, with the right type of personality, a good speaker, a gregarious person, who can literally take over these other groups in the sense that half of their membership deserts to come over to his banner. That's the only way it could be done . . . .
>
> That's the only way to do it. Not to try to merge with other organizations. You have to steal their membership. He [Hitler] didn't merge his party with anybody. But through his own abilities as a speaker and all

> the other leadership qualities he had, he was literally able to steal the memberships. And so these organizations would vote to dissolve and go into the National Socialist German Workers' Party. That's what he did. And he instinctively recognized the fallacy of what Liberty Lobby later tried to do and the Congress of Freedom tried to do and what We, the People tried to do and get one organization out of many. You can't have it.[11]

Over the course of his long career, Carto said that he never saw anyone with the potential to unify and mobilize the far right. He himself has never sought the limelight. In fact, he has preferred to do just the opposite, making a calculated decision to always stay behind the scenes. Inasmuch as he has been involved in some very controversial projects, perhaps most notably in Holocaust denial, his commitment to more respectable endeavors, such as building a third party, has been undermined. He has expounded on why he thought this stealthy approach was necessary:

> Well, for one thing, if I were to believe my own propaganda, I would be a target for assassination. For another thing, it was necessary, because I was operating on a number of different levels. I was constantly looking for men and women of prestige and name recognition to take positions of at least nominal authority in Liberty Lobby and also the Institute for Historical Review . . . . It was always my aim through Liberty Lobby and the IHR to institutionalize them. And actually I did. Until of course this thing happened in California, and until they managed to close down Liberty Lobby. Liberty Lobby was really doing pretty well for a time. It was solid, substantial. It was institutionalized. I had it set up in such a way that if something had happened to me why it would not have crumbled as all these other one man organizations do.[12]

When asked if he would have done anything differently, Carto responded with a laugh, "Yeah, I would have stayed in that law school." But then he added, "I did my best. That's all I can say."[13]

What can one say in conclusion about Willis Carto? To his critics, he has contributed to a politics of paranoia in America. His publications have promoted conspiracy theories that have fostered mistrust of the U.S. government and other institutions. Some observers might even suggest that the resentment fostered by such publications contributed to tragedies such as the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, since they influenced impressionable men like Timothy McVeigh, who took such ideas seriously and responded violently. Critics point out that Carto has advanced a toxic form of racism, even when presented in a veiled, or somewhat subtle, fashion. Of course, Carto would counter that his advocacy of "white rights" was not unlike the racial and ethnic activism practiced by minority interest groups that have become accepted common features in multicultural America.[14] Less defensible is his admiration for the Third Reich. More than anyone else, it was Carto who provided an institutional basis for Holocaust denial. In doing so, his critics charge, he trivialized one of the greatest tragedies in human history.

From the perspective of the far right, Carto created a center of gravity for the movement. In a sense, he kept the ideological flame burning and provided vehicles for postwar rightists to disseminate their views to the American public. More than any other figure, Carto shaped the movement's ideology and guided its direction. As mentioned earlier, it is estimated that Carto has published over two hundred books, many of which otherwise would probably not have been published. By doing so, he created a significant readership which other rightists could also reach. And by reaching out to a broad spectrum of activists, Carto created a semblance of unity in the movement. Finally, unlike his peers, Carto established a myriad of organizations and fronts, thus establishing institutional bases without parallel in the far right.[15]

Yet, he fell short of many of his goals. Although Liberty Lobby sought to influence the U.S. Congress, it never really attained serious credibility in Washington, D.C. Moreover, in the postwar era, the American far right has for the most part been a marginalized movement beyond the pale of respectability. This trend continues to this day. Despite Carto's efforts to unite the far right, the movement is still plagued by internecine squabbles, as evidenced by his experiences with the Populist Party and the IHR. Finally, by promoting so many disparate and sometimes arcane conspiracy theories, Carto in a sense trivialized what might be called the larger far right ideology. To this day, the movement has not attained a coherent ideology about which its activists and followers can agree. More than any of the other factors mentioned above, this last shortcoming has restricted the far right's ability to establish an effective mass movement.

Indeed, the principal weakness of the American far right has arguably been its lack of ideological coherence. This has inhibited the movement from developing a sense of unity that would allow it to mobilize effectively and on a broad scale. By contrast, as a political activist in the 1920s and earlier 1930s, Adolf Hitler demanded that the various German nationalist parties merge with his NSDAP and adopt its platform. As Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, only with the power of a singular ideology could the right prevail over its Marxist opponents. Similarly, the Communist movement of the early twentieth century, despite its various factions, developed an ideology around which activists could organize and seek political power. More recently, Osama bin Laden's vision of Islamism has helped al Qaeda attract Muslims around the world, despite the fact that his formal organization has been severely damaged by military action led by the United States and the efforts of many countries. By contrast, the American far right's lack of ideological coherence has undercut any unified sense of mission among its followers.

Essentially, Carto had to choose between one of two approaches. He could have pursued a strategy of ideological purity by insisting on his own particular version of conservatism. On the other hand, he could foster a broad coalition in which many disparate elements of the far right could meet. Carto chose to pursue this latter strategy, despite its obvious shortcomings. The first choice, he has long realized, was highly problematic given the fractious nature of the American far right. Furthermore, by tradition, American political culture is averse to rigid ideological schemes. In addition, a nativist movement in the United States is not as viable as in other nations, insofar as American national identity has evolved so that it is no longer based on ethnicity or race, but rather on a creed and, to a diminishing degree, on a shared culture.[16] Arguably, when ethnicity is an integral part of national identity, it is easier for rightist activists to appeal to potential supporters with a nativist platform.[17]

Had Carto pursued a narrower ideological approach, his network would have undoubtedly been much smaller in size. The late Dr. William L. Pierce, who was recognized by supporters and critics alike as an effective leader and organizer, developed a very specific ideology for his group, the National Alliance, which, according to estimates, was the most important neo-Nazi organization in the United States; however, at its peak, the organization is estimated to have reached a membership of only 1,500–2,000, far below the number of supporters Carto has counted for his various projects.[18]

In effect, Carto pursued a dual strategy in which he promoted an exoteric message that featured traditional American patriotic themes. However, he also offered an esoteric message based on the precepts of Yockeyism. To the discerning reader, this message was apparent in his publications, although not always explicitly presented. By permitting a broad spectrum of the far right to coalesce under his "big tent," he was able to tap into greater resources and establish larger and more durable institutions.

In sum, Carto has had an enormous influence on a movement that will probably endure well into the current century. Yet, it seems unlikely that his most recent enterprise—*American Free Press*—will survive after he dies. It is also unlikely that the network he has created will be able to persist on any significant scale without his direction. Such has been the case with virtually every far right enterprise in the postwar era: they dissolve without the leadership of the charismatic figures that founded them. Nevertheless, despite all its setbacks, the American far right has been remarkably durable.

Although some segments decline and whither away—due to a lack of interest among followers, government repression, or opposition from monitoring groups such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center—new groups seem to always emerge. The American far right has a notable capacity to continually reinvent itself. What is more, the issues that fuel the far right—massive immigration, globalization, multiculturalism, and conflict in the Middle East—are likely to continue to loom large in this century. Carto, more than any other figure, has shaped far right positions on these issues. As a result, his influence will very likely extend for many years beyond his lifetime.

Notes

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Carto claimed that circulation reached roughly 330,000 by the late 1970s. John George and Laird Wilcox put the figure at 315,000. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 260.

Chapter 2. The Far Right Before Carto

1. Michael, *Confronting Right Wing Extremism*, 5–6.
2. Durham, "The American Far Right and 9/11," 96–111.
3. Much of this overview is taken from Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism*, 40–44.
4. For example, see Lipset and Raab, *Politics of Unreason*; Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic*; Bennett, *Party of Fear*; and Myers, *History of Bigotry*.
5. Lipset and Raab, *Politics of Unreason*, 3.
6. Goodman made this observation in *Towards a Christian Republic*, 237.
7. This observation is made in Hofstadter, *Paranoid Style*, 16.
8. See Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic*, 8.
9. The literature on the Ku Klux Klan is vast. For more on the Reconstruction era Klan, see Trelease, *White Terror*; and Tougée, *Invisible Empire*.
10. Bennett, *Party of Fear*, 173.
11. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 5.
12. Ibid., 11.
13. Ibid., 12.
14. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*.
15. Ibid.
16. For more on the second era Klan, see MacLean, *Behind the Mask*; Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*; Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*; and Blee, *Women of the Klan*.
17. Pool and Pool, *Who Financed Hitler?*
18. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of White Power*, 287.
19. Ford, *The International Jew*.
20. See Pool and Pool, *Who Financed Hitler?*, 111.
21. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 17.
22. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 7, 2003.
23. For more on Coughlin, see Warren, *Radio Priest*.
24. Smith, *To Save a Nation*.
25. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.
26. Carlson, *Under Cover*.
27. Stimely, "Lawrence Dennis," 47–77.
28. Ibid., 48.

29. Carlson, *Under Cover*, 465.

30. Highman, *American Swastika*; and Carlson, *Under Cover*.

31. Sayers and Kahn, *Sabotage!* 208.

32. Highman, *American Swastika*, 56.

33. Smith, *To Save a Nation*, 166; and Sayers and Kahn, *Sabotage!* 158.

34. Carlson, *Under Cover*, 485.

35. This is according to a statement made by Moseley to the undercover investigator Arthur Derounian, who wrote under the pen name *John Roy Carlson*. Carlson, *The Plotters*, 22.

36. Carlson, *Under Cover*, 471.

37. Ibid, 485–86.

38. Ibid., 492–93.

39. Examples of this genre include Piller, *Time Bomb*; Carlson, *Under Cover*; Carlson, *The Plotters*; and Sayers and Kahn, *Sabotage!*

40. Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 185.

41. The historian Richard Gid Powers believes that *Under Cover* was probably written, or at least edited, by ADL ghosts. Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 184 and 293.

42. Ibid., 184.

43. Ibid., 183.

44. Ibid., 183–84.

45. Ibid., 186–87.

46. Cannedy, *America's Nazis*.

47. Dennis and St. George, *A Trial on Trial*, 350–71.

48. Reilly, *Sedition Case*, 112–13. Other defense counsels, including Henry Klein and Albert Dilling, also asserted that the ADL was behind the prosecution. Jeansome, *Women of the Far Right*, 161–62.

49. President Roosevelt ordered the investigation, and Attorney General Biddle complied with some reluctance, as he thought that the trial amounted to political persecution. Jeansome, *Women of the Far Right*, 152.

50. See for example Jeansome, *Women of the Far Right*, and Cannedy, *America's Nazis*.

51. There were allegations that some of the defendants had received money from Axis governments for their propaganda activities, and the ACLU used this as a pretext to withhold support. Dennis and St. George, *A Trial on Trial*, 221.

52. Jeansome, *Women of the Far Right*, 32.

53. Stimely, "Lawrence Dennis and a 'Frontier Thesis' for American Capitalism," 49.

54. For more on this thesis, see Lawrence Dennis, "Who Wants War for Perpetual Peace," *American Free Press*, April 3, 2006, pp. 10–11.

55. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 197–207.

56. For a critique of McCarthy from a far right perspective, see Piper, *The Judas Goats*, 159–71. Suggesting that McCarthy was a stooge for the Jews, Piper points out that McCarthy typically refrained from targeting "American Zionist families," such as the Schiffs, but instead focused his wrath on "America's old-line families and their associates in the foreign policy establishment."

57. Broyles, *John Birch Society*.

58. Bell, *Radical Right*.

59. Adorno, *Authoritarian Personality*. A more recent study with a similar theme, i.e., that fears of marginalization leads to scapegoating, is Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind*. For a critique of the Frankfurt School and its efforts to pathologize right-wing extremism, see MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique*, 155–211. MacDonald puts the issue in an evolutionary framework and argues that the fears of displacement to which far rightists are responding are often not illusory but genuine. Thus, right-wing movements are seen in some measure as an effort to prevent displacement and marginalization in an arena of "resource competition."

60. Hofstadter, *Paranoid Style*, 4.

61. Ibid., 5.

62. Ibid., 29–30.

63. See, for example, Rowe, *My Undercover Years*.

64. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 148.

Chapter 3. Early Years

1. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 7, 2003.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Willis Carto, "The Fight for a Free Press," *American Free Press*, April 12, 2004, pp. B1–B4.

6. McLemee, "Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby," 25.

Chapter 4. *Right*

1. Willis Carto, Draft of a speech to the Populist Party, n.d.

2. Blake, *The Civil Rights Revolution*.

3. Blake, *The Job Can Be Done!* 3; Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 8.

4. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 468.

5. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 72.

6. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 187.

7. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

8. "The Fraud Called Fluoridation," *Right* 21 (June 1957): 1; and Herman J. Kuppers, "The Fluoridation Lie, *Right* 21 (June 1957): 5.

9. "A Story of Rats," *Right* 25 (October 1957): 3.

10. "Pure Food and Water, *Right* 30 (March 1958): 3.

11. Barkun, *Religion and The Racist Right*, 141.

12. Beaty, *Iron Curtain Over America*.

13. For a good synopsis of Beaty's work, see Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 51–59.

14. *Right* 14 (November 1956): 2.

15. "America, A Second-Rate Power," *Right* 26 (November 1957): 2.

16. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 75.

17. "Agonizing Bifurcation," *Right* 33 (June 1958): 2.

18. *Right* 14 (November 1956): 3.

19. Willis A. Carto, “Our Foreign Policy is Outdated,” *Right* 38 (November 1958): 5.

20. “Call For ‘Survival Commission,’” *Right* 28 (January 1958): 1.

21. Peter J. Huxley-Blyter, “How Will the Rightwing Get Together? Victory Without War,” *Right* 30 (March 1958): 5.

22. “Right Received Award,” *Right* 31 (April 1958): 1.

23. Smith, *Is Eisenhower a Communist?*

24. *Right* 10 (July 1956): 2.

25. Glenn O. Young, “Is Altruistic Ike Paid for It?” *Right* 52 (January 1960): 4.

26. *Right* 15 (December 1956): 2–3.

27. *Right* 10 (July 1956): 3.

28. “Persecution of the Right,” *Right* 25 (October 1957): 3.

29. “First Casualty of War,” *Right* 58 (July 1960): 5–6.

30. *Right* 5 (February 1956): 1.

31. *Right* 5 (February 1956): 2.

32. “Ike’s Ethics,” *Right* 55 (April 1960): 5.

33. *Right* 14 (November 1956): 1–6.

34. *Right* 16 (January 1957): 3.

35. Geza Korda, “The Anglo-Saxon World and Hungary,” *Right* 37 (October 1958): 6.

36. *Right* 16 (January 1957): 3.

37. *Right* 17 (February 1957): 2.

38. “Call For ‘Survival Commission,’” *Right* 28 (January 1958): 3.

39. *Right* 17 (February 1957): 4.

40. “Fruits of Zionism,” *Right* 25 (October 1957): 4.

41. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 30.

42. “U.S. Advised to Take Note of Islamic World’s Concerns,” *Spotlight*, July 18, 1994, pp. 14–15, 23. For more on Huber, see Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy*.

43. Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski, “Muslims and the Reich,” *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 27–33.

44. The ADL listed the number and types of organized anti-Semitic organizations active in the United States as follows:

Year	*Category*				*Total*
	“Religious”	Politico-Economic”	“Educational”	Racist	
1949	16	36	2	12	66
1948	15	46	5	12	78
1947	15	73	1	26	115
1946	11	95	0	24	130
1945	10	89	0	13	112
1944	10	66	0	15	91
1943	8	57	0	8	73
1942	8	54	0	7	69
1941	6	61	0	6	73
1940	6	45	1	8	60

Source: Forster, *A Measure of Freedom*, 81.

45. The ADL asserted that in 1947–1948, “at least four representatives and one senator were recorded in frequent use of anti-Semitism.” Forster, *A Measure of Freedom*, 91.

46. Simonds, “The Strange Story of Willis Carto,” 979.

47. “The Filthy Rich,” *Right* 54 (March 1960): 2.

48. *Right* 10 (July 1956): 4.

49. Frederick Nietzsche, “Touchstones of the Future,” *Right* 53 (February 1960): 5.

50. “The Cat, the Bag and Israel Cohen,” *Right* 29 (February 1958): 2.

51. “World Troublemakers Try New Approach,” *Right* 59 (August 1960): 1.

52. *Right* 3 (December 1955): 2.

53. See Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*; Grant, *Conquest of a Continent*; and Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 32–33.

54. “Science and Equality,” *Right* 33 (June 1958): 1.

55. Edward Langford, “Race Science: Idealism for the Right,’” *Right* 30 (March 1958): 6.

56. Bela Hubbard, “Miscegenation,” *Right* 43 (April 1959): 3–4.

57. Robert Kuttner, “Our Captive Civilization,” *Right* 26 (November 1957): 6.

58. Stoddard’s most significant book, *The Rising Tide of Color*, is still sold by far right book dealers to this day. He also wrote another book, titled *The Revolt Against Civilization*, which conflated the race issue with the rise of Communism.

59. Robert Kuttner, “Overpopulation: A Corrected Perspective,” *Right* 55 (April 1960): 3.

60. Gerald Afanfryn-Hill, “How Will the Rightwing Get Together? Join the Northern League,” *Right* 34 (July 1958): 5.

61. Ernest Granucci, “A New Form of the Conservative Idea,” *Right* 32 (May 1958): 6.

62. Anthony M. Ludovici, “The Drift from Aristocracy to Communism,” *Right* 23 (August 1957): 6.

63. E. L. Anderson, “The Reality of Race,” *Right* 20 (May 1957): 1–4.

64. George Van Horn Moseley, “Let’s Rescue Uncle Sam,” *Right* 59 (August 1960): 3–4.

65. *Right* 13 (October 1956): 5.

66. “Liberty Letter’s Legislative Output,” *Liberty Letter* 43 (May 1964): 2.

67. *Right* 16 (January 1957): 1.

68. Drew L. Smith, “A Few Thoughts About Hawaiian Statehood,” *Right* 36 (September 1958): 5; Buchanan, *A Republic, Not an Empire*.

69. “Significance of Hawaii,” *Right* 43 (April 1959): 2.

70. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

71. “In Opposition to Hawaiian Admission,” *Right* 42 (March 1959): 1.

72. “Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii?” *Right* 32 (May 1958): 2.

73. The late Herbert Armstrong’s Church of Christ, which publishes the periodical *The Plain Truth*, is one prominent exception. Others include the Church of Israel, and the National Message Ministry. For more on the Christian Identity sect, see Barkun, *Religion and The Racist Right*; and Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America*.

74. *Right* 16 (January 1957): 5. According to this theory, in the Eighth Century, a Eur-

asian tribe known as the Khazars converted to Judaism and their descendents comprise the vast majority of contemporary Jews. Ironically, the esteemed Hungarian-Jewish author Arthur Koestler unwittingly did much to popularize this theory in his book *The Thirteenth Tribe*. Extremists have arrogated this book, as it has become a staple in their literature. Many far right book distributors sell the title.

75. "and Pamphlets That Are Right," *Right* 36 (September 1958): 4.

76. Richard Kelly Hoskins, "We Are Nordics," *Right* 43 (April 1959): 4–5; and Hoskins, *Our Nordic Race*.

77. According to Bruce Hoffman, the name *Phineas* is taken from a character in the Old Testament (Numbers 25), who became an avenger priest by murdering a Midianite woman whom he discovered having sex with her Israelite lover. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 119.

78. For example, in 1996 members of a white separatist cell calling themselves Phineas Priests committed a string of bombings and bank robberies in Washington state. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Terrorism in the United States 1997*, 8. Other right-wing extremists have used the name as well; however, the name appears to denote more of a "state of the mind" fellowship than a formal organization. For example, some members of the Aryan Republican Army, which went on a bank-robbing spree in the Midwest in 1994–1995, invoked the term *Phineas Priests*. Paul Hill, the anti-abortionist activist who murdered Dr. John Bayard Britton and his escort, had written an essay advocating "Phineas actions." Finally, Hoskins printed a letter from Byron de la Beckwith, the convicted killer of civil rights activist Medgar Evers, in which he concluded with the statement, "Phineas for president." See ADL, "The Order and Phineas Priesthood," www.adl.org/backgrounders/an_phineas.asp, August 11, 1999. As an aside, law enforcement authorities found a copy of another book by Hoskins, *War Cycles—Peace Cycles*, in the van of Buford Furrow. Some observers argued that this book motivated Furrow to commit his attack, but the book really has nothing do with terrorism; instead it focuses on international banking. Richard Kelly Hoskins. *War Cycles, Peace Cycles*, Fifth Edition. Lynchburg, Va.: Virginia Publishing Company, 1994.

79. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

80. Willis Carto, "Is Christianity Relevant?" *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2007): 51–53.

81. *Right* 17 (February 1957): 5.

82. *Right* 13 (October 1956): 3.

83. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 66.

84. *Right* 18 (March 1957): 5.

85. "LL President-Designate Dies," *Liberty Letter* 48 (October 1964): 2.

86. Robert Kuttner, "Forgotten Sciences," *Right* 37 (October 1958): 2–3.

87. Cox, *Teutonic Unity*.

88. The late Ben Klassen founded the Church of the Creator (COTC) in 1973, with the release of his book *Nature's Eternal Religion*. "Creativity" rejects all metaphysical beliefs and supernatural deities. Instead, it offers an all-encompassing *weltanschauung* based on the veneration of the white race. In a nutshell, "Creativity" posits that the white race is nature's most gifted creation. Toward this end, "Creators" espouse "racial loyalty" and seek to unite the white race in a single global community devoid of all other races. As such, measures should be taken to enhance its health (eugenics) and survival as a distinct racial group (thus, there are strictures against miscegenation, and whites are encouraged to have large families). Klassen had a brief correspondence with Willis Carto, who actually complimented Klassen on his book *Nature's Eternal Religion*. See Willis Carto's letter to Ben Klassen, May 13, 1973, in Klassen, *The Klassen Letters*, vol. 1, 109. However, years later, Klassen criticized Carto for not taking a stand against Christianity. Moreover, he ridiculed his circumlocutions toward Jews, as Carto's organ, the *Spotlight*, did not attack Jews qua Jews, but rather Jews qua Zionists, dual loyalists, etc. Klassen, *Building a Whiter and Brighter World*, 43–44. Be that as it may, Carto's publications would occasionally carry advertisements for Klassen's books long after Klassen's death in 1993. For an historical sketch of the COTC, see Michael, "RAHOWA!" 561–83.

89. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 38–39.

90. David Pratt, "Herman's Brother," *Right* 56 (May 1960): 1.

91. Bryam Campbell, "A New Understanding of History," *Right* 38 (November 1958): 4.

92. Bryam Campbell, "Group Morality (Part I)," *Right* 48 (September 1959): 5.

93. Bryam Campbell, "Group Morality (Part II)," *Right* 49 (October 1959): 4.

94. Bryam Campbell, "Evolutionary Ethics & Biology," *Right* 58 (July 1960): 4–5.

95. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 68–69.

96. *Right* 13 (October 1956): 3.

97. A. Rud Mills, "Our Ancient Religion," *Right* 50 (November 1959): 3.

98. "Mr. Mills Throws Out the Baby," *Right* 50 (November 1959): 2.

99. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 167. Else Christensen was also an avid promoter of Francis Parker Yockey's *Imperium*. She introduced Yockey's ideas to the neopagan audience through a series of articles that appeared in her journal, *The Odinist*. Kaplan and Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*, 106.

100. E. L. Anderson, "Cultural Dynamics I," *Right* 50 (November 1959): 3–4; E. L. Anderson, "Cultural Dynamics II," *Right* 54 (March 1960): 3–4; and E. L. Anderson, "Cultural Dynamics III," *Right* 57 (June 1960): 2–3.

101. Robert Kuttner, "Evolutionary Ethics & Politics," *Right* 58 (July 1960): 3–4.

Chapter 5. Uniting the Right

1. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 48.

2. Ibid., 66.

3. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

4. Taylor Caldwell, "How Will the Rightwing Get Together? Unify With The Liberty Lobby," *Right* 28 (January 1958): 5.

5. William Stephenson, "How will the Rightwing Get Together? Form a Liberty Lobby," *Right* 26 (November 1957): 5.

6. John Borden, "What to do and how to do it: Support a New Party Ticket," *Right* 37 (October 1958): 5.

7. Logan G. Wilshire, "What's Wrong With the Right?" *Right* 33 (June 1958): 6.

8. Lambert Schuyler, "Radicals May be Right," *Right* 34 (July 1958): 6.

9. Robert Wiseman, "How Will the Rightwing Get Together? National Consolidation," *Right* 27 (December 1957): 5.

10. George E. Deatherage, "How Will the Rightwing Get Together? The Key is Specialization," *Right* 31 (April 1958): 2.

11. A. B. Hawk, "How Will the Rightwing Get Together? Use the Common Good League Plan," *Right* 33 (June 1958): 5.

12. Robert Kuttner, "Arts and Politics," *Right* 42 (March 1959): 5.

13. Robert Kuttner, "The Nationalist Philosophy: Its Promise and Future," *Right* 47 (August 1959): 4.

14. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 187.

15. Quoted in Bellant, *Old Nazis, the New Right*, 60.

16. "Political Action," *Right* 34 (July 1958): 1.

17. "Northern League Office Opened," *Right* 38 (November 1958): 1–2. According to an exposé by C. H. Simonds, former associates of Carto claimed that E. L. Anderson and Carto were one and the same. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 982.

18. E. L. Anderson, "Northern League Notes," *Right* 40 (January 1959): 6.

19. David Pratt, "Herman's Brother," *Right* 56 (May 1960): 1–2.

20. Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, 95.

21. Ibid., 83, 99, 154.

22. For more on Devi and her influence in the far right milieu, see Goodrick-Clarke, *Hitler's Priestess*.

23. Devi, *Gold in the Furnace*. In 2005, Carto's *Barnes Review* began selling *Gold in the Furnace*.

24. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*, 84. Hargis wrote an article for *Right* in which he exposed the alleged machinations of numerous Communist sympathizers among the American elite. Billy James Hargis, "The 'Workers' Revolution," *Right* 59 (August 1960): 4–5.

25. The delegates at the convention ultimately rejected the idea of creating an independent conservative party and decided to support individual candidates from the two major parties instead. Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 76–77.

26. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 87.

27. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 214.

28. Birch was doing both missionary and intelligence work in China during the war. At war's end, he stumbled upon a Communist force with which he became embroiled in a heated argument. Eventually the Communist troops executed him. Welch considered Birch to be the first casualty in the Western world's war with Communism and thus named his organization after him. For more on the life of John Birch, see Welch's hagiographic *The Life of John Birch*.

29. In addition to this figure, John George and Laird Wilcox estimate that perhaps as many as 250,000 Americans had once been JBS members, most for only a few years. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 220.

30. The Illuminati worldview was supposed to be similar to that of Freemasonry. Although Bavarian authorities dissolved the organization in 1785, many conspiracy theorists allege that it still exists, albeit in different guises. See for example Pat Robertson's *The New World Order*.

31. See for example Epstein and Forster, *Danger on the Right*; and Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*.

32. Svokin notes that the "Studies in Prejudice" research underwritten by the American Jewish Committee in the 1940s found that those people who evinced authoritarian tendencies, such as right-wing anti-Communists, were susceptible to anti-Semitic appeals. Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, 115.

33. Some leading anti-Semites at one time or another were JBS members, including Revilo P. Oliver, George Lincoln Rockwell, Ben Klassen, Tom Metzger, and Robert Jay Matthews. Virtually to a man, these disgruntled former members renounced the JBS as a Zionist-led operation that confuses well-meaning patriots and leads them down a blind alley. See for example George Lincoln Rockwell's criticism of the JBS in his book *White Power*, 358–407. For its part, the Birch Society has excoriated the "collectivist tendencies" of their racism. Moreover, Birch Society founder Robert Welch went so far to release a tape-recorded speech, "the Neutralizers," to his followers in which he claimed that Communists had planted anti-Semites into his organization to discredit it.

34. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 187.

35. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 176.

36. Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 356–57.

37. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 187.

38. Quigley also was critical of a nexus linking Wall Street, the Ivy League universities, and the federal government. However, Quigley made no mention of a Zionist wing of the establishment, but he did implicate a number of bankers with Jewish names, including the Rothschilds. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 144–47.

39. "Political Action," *Right* 34 (July 1958): 1.

40. For more on the incident, see Greene, *The Temple Bombing*.

41. "'Bombers' Framed, Officials Charge," *Right* 38 (November 1958): 1.

42. "Investigate the Mess," *Right* 40 (January 1959): 1.

43. Edward Fields, "Trial Facts Prove Frame-up," *Right* 40 (January 1959): 2–3.

44. "Bright Not Guilty," *Right* 41 (February 1959): 1.

45. "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," *Right* 44 (May 1959): 2.

46. "'Love' Mongers Move in for Kill," *Right* 53 (February 1960): 1.

47. Kamp, *The Bigots Behind the Swastika Spree*.

48. For more on the Columbians see Weisenburger, "The Columbians, Inc.," 821–60. For more on the National Renaissance Party, see Kaplan and Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*, 106–18. The National Renaissance Party was founded by James Madole in 1948 and lasted until his death in 1979.

49. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 35–36.

50. The World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) was one of the first major postwar efforts to create a united "Neo-Fascist International." Representatives included Colin Jordan and John Tyndall from Great Britain, Savitri Devi from France, Bruno Ludtke from Germany, Franz Pfeiffer from Chile, Horst Eichmann (son of Adolf Eichmann) from Argentina, and Rockwell from the United States, among others. For more on WUNS, see Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 81–95.

51. In 1959, a Washington, DC representative of the ADL forwarded information

that Rockwell had been sending wires and registered letters to then President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. Upon receipt of the information, the FBI opened an investigation. FBI Internal Memorandum, File Number 97-3835-33, July 13, 1959.

52. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 25.

53. “California in the Spotlight,” *Right* 24 (September 1957): 1.

54. Lincoln Rockwell, “Nazism: The White Man's Ultimate Weapon,” *Right* 56 (May 1960): 5–6.

55. “‘Love’ Mongers Move in for Kill,” *Right* 53 (February 1960): 2.

56. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

57. Ibid.

58. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 171. For more on Yockey's putative ties to the Soviets, see Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*; and Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*. Rockwell took issue with an essay Yockey wrote titled “World in Flames,” in which he asserted that Western civilization could not be saved until the United States was defeated in a war by the Soviet Union. Rockwell also pointed out that when Yockey was arrested in 1960, he was captured in the home of a rabbi. Finally, he accused Yockey's circle of admirers of rampant homosexuality, which he thought would be a serious detriment to the National Socialist movement. See George Lincoln Rockwell, “What's Behind ‘Yockeyism?’” *Rockwell Report* 3, no. 18–19 (July 15, 1965): 6–7; and George Lincoln Rockwell, “More On ‘Yockeyism,’” *Rockwell Report* 3, no. 21 (September 1964): 19–20.

59. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 109.

60. Lobb, “The Right to Revise History,” 201–2.

61. Quoted in Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 170.

62. For more on the relationship between George Lincoln Rockwell and Elijah Muhammad, see Clegg, *An Original Man*, 153–62.

63. Matt Koehl, “Race and Morality,” *Right* 42 (March 1959): 4–5.

64. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 189.

65. *Right* 12 (September 1956): 2–3.

66. “Race Nationalism,” *Right* 30 (March 1958): 3.

67. “Realistic Solutions,” *Right* 41 (February 1959): 1.

68. Earnest Sevier Cox, “Brief History of the Back-to-Africa Movement,” *Right* 20 (May 1957): 5.

69. S. A. Davis, “How Will the Rightwing Get Together?” *Right* 25 (October 1957): 5.

70. Clennon King, “Repatriation: With Something New Added?” *Right* 25 (October 1957): 6.

71. C. C. Addison, “Report on Black Nationalist Convention,” *Right* 48 (September 1959): 3.

72. “International Nationalism,” *Right* 46 (July 1959): 1–2.

73. “Rejecting Christianity,” *Right* 36 (September 1958): 3.

74. “Negro Nationalism Surges,” *Right* 46 (July 1959): 2–3.

75. Elijah Muhammad, “Unite Against the White Race,” *Right* 46 (July 1959): 4.

76. George S. Schuyler, “The Moslem Brotherhood,” *Right* 46 (July 1959): 5.

77. “Negro Nationalism Surges,” *Right* 46 (July 1959): 3.

78. Simonds, “The Strange Story of Willis Carto,” 979.

79. George Leggett, “Confederationism,” *Right* 37 (October 1958): 4.

80. Gardell, *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad*, 277.

81. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 267–70.

82. Kaplan and Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*, 66.

83. Jeffries attained notoriety for his comments that “rich Jews” were responsible for the African slave trade, and that Jewish and Italian control of the film industry was responsible for the depiction of racist African American stereotypes in movies. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 53.

84. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 14–16.

85. This is according to the research conducted by Mattias Gardell. *Gods of the Blood*, 116. Carto told me that he did not recall attending the event. Don Black, a longtime close associate of Duke, joined the Populist Party not long after being released from prison, where he served over two years for his role in a bizarre 1981 plot to invade the island of Dominica and overthrow its government in the hope of gaining support from a new government for white separatist causes. While in prison, he studied computers and became quite proficient in using them, and in 1995 he launched Stormfront, which is recognized as the first white power web site. Not long after Duke divorced his wife, Chloe, Black married her and maintained an amicable friendship with Duke.

86. “Authentic History & The First Amendment,” *Spotlight*, July 2, 2001, p. 9.

87. Willis A. Carto, “Could Marcus Garvey's Dream Become an African Reality?” *American Free Press*, February 28, 2005, p. 14.

88. *Right* 5 (February 1956): 3.

89. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 323 n. 77.

90. Forster and Epstein, *Cross-Currents*, 144.

91. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 252.

92. “Report on Congress of Freedom,” *Right* 21 (June 1957): 1.

93. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 66.

94. *Right* 12, Special Convention Supplement (September 1956): 1.

95. *Right* 18 (March 1957): 6.

96. “Chicago Meet Proves Growth of Rightwing,” *Right* 25 (October 1957): 1.

97. “Congress of Freedom Endorses the Liberty Lobby,” *Right* 32 (May 1958): 1.

98. “Chicago Action Meet Picks Ralph W. Gwinn to Lead WTP,” *Right* 37 (October 1958): 1.

99. Some years later, in 1971, Carto had a falling out with Fields, whom he accused of being an infiltrator and characterized him as “pro-Zionist.” “Carto-IHR Milestones,” http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/milestones.html, downloaded February 5, 2005. However, they later resolved their differences and Fields is a frequent attendee at Carto's various conferences.

100. “United Front for Nationalists,” *Right* 47 (August 1959): 1.

101. “Towards Real National Unity,” *Right* 48 (September 1959): 2.

102. “Constitutional Parties Ally,” *Right* 51 (December 1959): 1.

103. See for example, *Right* 12 (September 1956): 1.

104. “Ike is indicted as Criminal, *Right* 26 (November 1957): 1.

105. “Nuremberg & Little Rock,” *Right* 27 (December 1957): 2.

106. “The Right Line: How About Knowland?” *Right* 37 (October 1958): 1.

107. "Rightist Results," *Right* 27 (December 1957): 1.

108. "Crommelin for Alabama," *Right* 29 (February 1958): 1.

109. "Political Action," *Right* 54 (March 1960): 1.

110. John G. Crommelin, "The Alabama Story," *Right* 57 (June 1960): 4.

111. "Political Action," *Right* 31 (April 1958): 1.

112. "With this Sixtieth Issue, Right Discontinues Publication," *Right* 60 (September 1960): 1–5.

Chapter 6. The Birth of Liberty Lobby

1. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

2. Ibid.

3. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 9.

4. Bellant, *Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party*, 99. For his part, Carto loyalist Michael Collins Piper commented that he believed that this assertion was fictitious. Author interview with Michael Collins Piper, September 3, 2006.

5. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 3.

6. See Liberty Lobby, "Victory List for Americans," n.d.; and Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 9.

7. "'Liberty Lobby Being Formed,'" *Right* 23 (August 1957): 1.

8. Willis A. Carto, "A Liberty Lobby is Needed," *Right* 24 (September 1957): 6.

9. Reproduced in Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 14.

10. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 979.

11. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 10.

12. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 9; and Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 979.

13. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 980.

14. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 185.

15. Ryan, *Into a World of Hate*, 194.

16. "Happy Birthday to Liberty Lobby," *Liberty Letter* 55 (July 1965): 3.

17. "Liberty Letter Cracks 100,000," *Liberty Letter* 51 (March 1965): 2; and "Happy Birthday to Liberty Lobby," *Liberty Letter* 55 (July 1965): 3.

18. "True Talks to 'The People's Lobby.'"

19. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 10, 33.

20. Ibid., 10.

21. Bornstein, *The Neo-Nazis*, 49; Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 281; and Scheinberg, "Right-Wing Extremism in the United States," 64.

22. "True Talks to 'The People's Lobby.'"

23. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. This includes, but is not limited to Americans for National Security; Save Our Schools; Congress of Freedom; We, the People; United Congressional Appeal; Liberty and Property; Friends of Rhodesian Independence; Noontide Press; Legion for the Survival of Freedom; Committee for Religious Development; Government Educational Foundation, etc. Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 135.

27. Members of the original Advisory Board included Judge Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven, Miss.; Mrs. Mary D. Cain, Summit, Miss.; Ralph Courtney, Spring Valley, N.Y.; Lt. Gen. P. A. del Valle, Ret., Elkridge, Md.; Robert B. Dresser, Providence, R.I.; Harry T. Everingham, Chicago, Ill.: W. L. Foster, Tulsa, Okla.; George B. Fowler, Holyoke, Mass.; Percy Greaves, Chevy Chase, Md.; Dr. Bela Hubbard, Tucson, Ariz.; Hon. J. Bracken Lee, Salt Lake City, Utah; Paul O. Peters, Washington, D.C.; Robert B. Snowden, Memphis, Tenn.; Willis E. Stone, Los Angeles, Calif.; Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, Ret., Winter Park, Fla.; and Edwin L. Wiegand, Pittsburgh, Penn. "'Liberty Lobby' Being Formed," *Right* 23 (August 1957): 1. Norman Dodd, a former research director for the Reece Committee in Congress, joined the board in 1958. "Who Finances Communism?" *Right* 30 (March 1958): 1.

28. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 979.

29. "True Talks to 'The People's Lobby.'"

30. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 100–101.

31. Some of the new Board members included such right-wing luminaries as Thomas J. Anderson, the publisher of *Farm and Ranch* magazine; Ezra Taft Benson; Mary D. Cain, the publisher of the rightist journal *Sun*; Kit Clardy, a Congressman from Michigan; Reverend James Parker Dees, a leading official of North Carolina's Defenders of States' Rights; Ed Delaney, an American who broadcasted over German Radio during World War II; General P. A. del Valle, founder and president of the Defenders of the American Constitution; Robert Dresser, an industrialist and long-time backer of rightist causes from Providence, R.I.; Harry T. Everingham, the founder and president of We, The People; Percy Greaves, an advocate of libertarian economics at the Ludwig von Mises Institute; Billy James Hargis, the leader of the Christian Crusade; A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., of the Council of the John Birch Society; Kenneth Goff, a former associate of Gerald L. K. Smith; Joseph P. Kamp; Verne Kaub, of the American Council of Christian Laymen; Tyler Kent, who was convicted by a British court in 1940 for divulging secrets to the Axis while he worked in an American embassy; Robert Kuttner; J. Bracken Lee, the mayor of Salt Lake City; D. B. Lewis, the president of the Organization to repeal Federal Income Taxes, Inc.; Milton M. Lory, the president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; W. Henry McFarland; Dr. Revilo P. Oliver; R. Carter Pitman; Major Arch Roberts; Mississippi Lieutenant General George Stratemeyer; General Edwin A. Walker; and Allen A. Zoll of the American Patriots, Inc. See Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 982; Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 207; Overstreet and Overstreet, *The Strange Tactics of Extremism*, 199–200, 212–18, 229–30, 242; and Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 85.

32. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

33. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 22.

34. "Ceremony Marks Merger," *Liberty Letter* 65 (June 1966): 2; and "A Letter to the President," *Liberty Letter* 69 (October 1966): 1.

35. "The Newspaper," *Liberty Letter* 92 (October 1968): 2.

36. Levitas, "Anti-Semitism and the Far Right," 193. Carto confirmed the 20,000 figure to me as well. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

37. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 280.

38. "Liberty Lobby 1982 Progress Report," 2–3.

39. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 280.

40. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 982.

41. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 69.

42. Ibid.

43. "Report on the First National Convention of the Liberty Lobby Board of Policy," *Liberty Letter* 74 (April 1967): 3–5.

44. For more on Westbrook Pegler, see Farr, *Fair Enough: The Life of Westbrook Pegler*. See also Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 172, 183, 232, 234, 241, 258, 262, 304.

45. See Overstreet and Overstreet, *The Strange Tactics of Extremism*, 214–17; and Committee on Un-American Activities, *Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups*. *Common Sense* ceased publication in 1972.

46. "Kennedy has not Won the Election," *Liberty Letter* 1 (November 24, 1960).

47. "Kennedy Frontiersmen Pledged to Socialize the U.S.," *Liberty Letter* 2 (January 13, 1961).

48. "Fantastic Plot to Sell Strategic Materials to Communists," *Liberty Letter* 28 (February 5, 1963).

49. "Frontiersmen All set to 'Blitz' Senate," *Liberty Letter* 3 (February 22, 1961); and "Minimum Wage or Maximum Socialism," *Liberty Letter* 5 (April 19, 1961).

50. "Earl Warren Responds to the Call of Duty,'" *Liberty Letter* 39 (January 1964): 2.

51. John M. Ashbrook, "Was Oswald Ordered to Kill?" *Liberty Letter* 40 (February 1964): 3.

52. "Warren Whitewash of Assassination Pending," *Liberty Letter* 42 (April 1964): 1.

53. "Castro's Caribbean," *Right* 44 (May 1959): 1.

54. "Will the Caribbean Become a Red Lake?" *Right* 47 (August 1959): 1.

55. "From Here, and 'most Everywhere," *Right* 48 (September 1959): 6.

56. See, for example, the memoirs of Stanislav Lunev, a former high-ranking official of the GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence). Lunev claimed that suitcase-sized nuclear bombs were smuggled into and deployed on American soil during the Cold War. Lunev, *Through the Eyes of the Enemy*.

57. "Secret LBJ Treaty Dangerous Red Plot," *Liberty Letter* 45 (July 1964): 1.

58. "An Empty Victory," *Liberty Letter* 74 (April 1967): 2.

59. Robert Walters "Consular Pace Intense: Surprising Strength Shown by Liberty Lobby, *Evening Star*, March 10, 1967. Reprinted in Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 26–27.

60. "Extremists Plot Six-Point Package for Appeasement," *Liberty Letter* 60 (January 1966): 1.

61. "Soviets Demand Surrender of U.S. Territory," *Liberty Letter* 78 (August 1967): 1.

62. Identified, as the principal forces behind the effort to hand over the canal were then Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and his brother David Rockefeller, the chief of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Reportedly, a deal was struck between the Rockefeller interests and Omar Torrijos, the leader of Panama at the time of the treaty. The Rockefellers then used their influence through such bodies as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission to promote the treaty. See G. Russell Evans, "Designated Envoy to Panama Carter's Giveaway Point Man," *Spotlight*, July 18, 1994, p. 12; and "Forces Behind the Canal Giveaway First Exposed Over 22 Years Ago," *Spotlight*, October 4, 1999, p. 24.

63. "Liberty Lobby 1985 Progress Report," 1.

64. "'Open Space' Treaty Dangerous Threat to National Security," *Liberty Letter* 72 (February 1967): 1.

65. "Reds Plot to Destroy Missile Defense," *Liberty Letter* 99 (May 1969): 1.

66. Stanley M. Andrews, "Americans for National Security Reports," *Liberty Letter* 100 (June 1969): 4. In retrospect, Liberty Lobby's position on the ABM treaty seems odd. Although Liberty Lobby has championed a strong national defense, it did not support the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or "Star Wars" defense umbrella project, that promised to defend against incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles. The project was criticized as unviable and a tremendous waste of the taxpayers' money. Furthermore, such a scheme, it was argued, would only accelerate an arms race to produce a greater number of—and more technologically sophisticated—ICBMs that could be launched to overwhelm the SDI defenses. *American Free Press* carried an article by former weapons inspector, Scott Ritter, that reported that, in December 2004, the Russian Strategic Missile Force had successfully test fired an advanced SS-27 Topol-M road intercontinental ballistic missile, which would probably penetrate the National Missile Defense System under development during the George W. Bush administration. Ritter, "America's Missile Defense Fantasy Explodes," *American Free Press*, January 17, 2005, p. 20.

67. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 64.

68. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 153.

69. "Hot Line to Washington," *Liberty Letter* 86 (April 1968): 3.

70. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 983.

71. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 89.

72. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 279.

73. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 10.

74. Ibid., 22.

75. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 280.

76. See, for example, "Dall's Testimony Arouses Liberals Anger; Courtney Draws Praise," *Liberty Letter* 33 (July 1963): 3.

77. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 89–90. Shortly after Hick's death, Jaffe left Liberty Lobby. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 987.

78. In 1965, representatives of Liberty Lobby testified before Congress committees 15 times; in 1966, 13 times; in 1967, 10 times; 18 times in 1968. In 1971, representatives of Liberty Lobby testified before Congress on 13 occasions. See "Colonel Dall Reports: 1971 Progress Report," January 11, 1972; and Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 28–29.

79. For example, on June 5, 1963, Board of Policy member John Wood voiced his opposition to legislation that would extend the life of, and grant additional powers to, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. "Dall's Testimony Arouses Liberals Anger; Courtney Draws Praise," *Liberty Letter* 33 (July 1963): 3.

80. “New Frontiersmen Prepare Last-Minute Assault on Congress,” *Liberty Letter* 25 (September 4, 1962).

81. “Commies Brazenly Plan to Intimidate Congress,” *Liberty Letter* 34 (August 1963): 1–2.

82. “Liberals Want Chamber of Horrors as JFK ‘Memorial,’” *Liberty Letter* 39 (January 1964): 1.

83. “What Happened in Dixie?” *Liberty Letter* 41 (March 1964): 1.

84. “Liberty Lobby Before Congress,” *Liberty Letter* 85 (March 1968): 3.

85. Greider, *Secrets of the Temple*, 337–38.

86. “School Prayer Amendment Gains Support in Congress,” *Liberty Letter* 64 (May 1966): 1.

87. Bellant, *Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party*, 54.

88. Karl Mundt, “The Burleson-Curtis Resolution,” *Liberty Letter* 30 (April 1963): 2; and Strom Thurmond, “Why I Support the Burleson-Curtis Resolution,” *Liberty Letter* 32 (June 1963): 2.

89. Craig Hosmer, “The Test Ban Trap,” *Liberty Letter* 35 (September 1963): 2.

90. “Liberty Lobby Testifies against Moscow Treaty,” *Liberty Letter* 36 (October 1963): 2.

91. “School of Politics Hears Liberty Lobby Leaders,” *Liberty Letter* 36 (October 1963): 2.

92. Simonds, “The Strange Story of Willis Carto,” 982.

93. Liberty Lobby, *The How*, 22.

94. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

95. “Willis Carto—Personal Information,” http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/cartoinfo.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

96. Simonds, “The Strange Story of Willis Carto,” 984.

Chapter 7. Francis Parker Yockey and *Imperium*

1. See Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*. Yockey had several motivations for working with the Soviet Union. First, unlike most far rightists at the time, he did not implicate the Soviet Union as part of a “Zionist conspiracy.” In fact, he argued that the Eastern bloc was becoming anti-Semitic and would thus be more amenable to neo-fascist overtures. Second, he envisaged a western “Imperium,” of which Russia would be an integral part. Finally, Yockey evinced an intense anti-Americanism. In that sense, it is somewhat ironic that Carto, who enthusiastically espouses Americanism, would choose to champion a figure like Yockey. However, in my meeting with Carto, I found him to be very intellectually eclectic, and thus able to overlook certain aspects that might not necessarily fit into his overall worldview.

2. Yockey, *Imperium*, ix.

3. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 36.

4. See Carto's introduction in Yockey, *Imperium*, xviii.

5. Ibid., ix.

6. “ADL Closes its File on Yockey,” *Right* 58 (July 1960): 1–2.

7. Kaplan, *Encyclopedia of White Power*, 42.

8. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 156.

9. Simonds, “The Strange Story of Willis Carto,” 980.

10. “Publisher's Forward,” in Yockey, *Proclamation of London*, i.

11. Yockey, “The Tragedy of Youth,” 1–2.

12. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 113–29.

13. “Publisher's Forward” in Yockey, *Proclamation of London*, i.

14. Yockey, *Imperium*, xxii.

15. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 150.

16. The identity of one of Yockey's grandparents has never been confirmed, thus leading to speculation that he may have been Jewish. In a eulogy of Daniel Burros, a right-wing extremist, who committed suicide shortly after it transpired in a newspaper that he was part Jewish, Madole claimed that Yockey was one-quarter Jewish. See James H. Madole, “The Historical and Metaphysical Roots of the Conflict between Jew and Gentile,” *National Renaissance Bulletin* 16, nos. 6–12, pp. 1–2; and Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 48–50.

17. Felton is the son of a white mother and a black father, who, ironically, were both civil rights activists. An ex-convict and fanatical white supremacist, he was arrested for allegedly planning to blow up Jewish and black targets in Boston, Massachusetts, in an effort to ignite a race war. While in prison during his first incarceration, he gravitated toward the white inmates and identified himself racially as white. Immersing himself in the “white power” subculture, he came across Yockey's *Imperium* and was greatly inspired by his conception of race, not as a strict biological ontology, but rather a spiritual and cultural construct. See Tough, “The Black White Supremacist.” See also “‘White supremacists’ on trial in Boston,” BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2116623.stm>, July 8, 2002; and “World Church of the Creator, The Women's Frontier, the Sisterhood,” ADL Law Enforcement Agency Resource Network, http://www.adl.org/learn/felton/wcotc.asp, accessed July 1, 2001.

18. Yockey, *Imperium*, 354–66. It is worth mentioning that, despite Yockey's calls for European unity, the international far right has generally not supported the European Union, at least not in the way it is presently constituted. It is usually characterized as an administrative monstrosity that serves the interests of a transnational elite rather than the aspirations of the various European peoples. The *Spotlight* criticized the expansion of the European Union in late 1990s as it absorbed several erstwhile Eastern bloc nations. See, for example, James P. Tucker, “Trilats Welcome Ex-Red Bloc Nations.,” *Spotlight*, May 4, 1998, p. 17.

19. Yockey, *Imperium*, 517–23.

20. Ibid., 349.

21. Yockey, *Enemy of Europe*. For a lengthy critique of Yockey's tract from a far right perspective, see Oliver, *Enemy of Our Enemies*.

22. Quoted from Mosley's tract *The European Situation: The Third Force*, an excerpt of which is contained in Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 168.

23. In the interwar years, Mosley was the leader of the British Union of Fascists, the most important far right organization during that period. For a period during the war, he was interned by Churchill. After the war, he founded the Union Movement. Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, 214

24. Yockey, *Proclamation of London*.

25. Yockey, *Imperium*, xiii.
26. Yockey, "What is Behind the Hanging of the Eleven Jews in Prague?" 3–11.
27. Yockey, Francis P., "The Destiny of America" reprinted in *Yockey: Four Essays*, 12–18.
28. Yockey, "World in Flames," 19–24.
29. For the most comprehensive study of Yockey, see Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*. Another good source is Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*.
30. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 981.
31. Yockey, *Imperium*, xii.
32. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 516.
33. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 981.
34. "Liberty Library," *Liberty Letter* 99 (May 1969): 3.
35. "Imperium," *Liberty Letter* 100 (June 1969): 2.
36. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 15.
37. Author interview with Willis Carto, December 15, 2000.
38. Yockey, *Imperium*, xxx.
39. Ibid., xxxiv.
40. Ibid., xxxviii.
41. Ibid., xxxix.
42. Ibid., xiv.
43. Ibid., xx.
44. Author interview with Willis Carto, December 15, 2000.
45. Ibid.
46. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 158.
47. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.
48. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 562.
49. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 252–53.
50. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 22.

Chapter 8. The Turbulent Decade

1. "'War on Poverty' Threatens More Waste and Corruption," *Liberty Letter* 67 (August 1966): 1.
2. "A Letter to the President," *Liberty Letter* 69 (October 1966): 1–2.
3. "Liberty Letter's Legislative Lookout," *Liberty Letter* 45 (July 1964): 2.
4. "LBJ's Vote-Happy Immigration Scheme," *Liberty Letter* 50 (February 1965): 1.
5. William Hunter, "The Politics of a Fanatic," *Liberty Letter* 48 (October 1964): 4.
6. Quoted in Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 189.
7. Liberty Lobby, "LBJ: A Political Biography."
8. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 982.
9. "Communists Claim Great Victory," *Liberty Letter* 49 (January 1965): 1.
10. "The Cow Palace Revolution," *Liberty Lowdown* 22 (December 1964) 1–3.
11. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 86.
12. "The Newspaper," *Liberty Letter* 92 (October 1968): 2.
13. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 94.
14. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 64.

15. "'Black Revolution' is Red Revolution," *Liberty Letter* 53 (May 1965): 1.
16. "'Great Society' Mourns," *Liberty Letter* 87 (May 1968): 2.
17. Liberty Ledger—87th Congress—1961 and 1962.
18. "Katzenbach Seeks Total Power in New Civil Rights Act," *Liberty Letter* 65 (June 1966): 1.
19. "House-Passed 'Rights' Act Faces Senate," *Liberty Letter* 68 (September 1966): 1.
20. "Congress Threatened by Revolutionary Force," *Liberty Letter* 86 (April 1968): 1.
21. "Congress to Vote on Mass Bribery," *Liberty Letter* 79 (September 1967): 1.
22. "Officials Permit Destruction of Nation's Capital," *Liberty Letter* 87 (May 1968): 1.
23. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 23. It is also worth mentioning that Pauline Mackey, a member of Liberty Lobby, was a friend of Byron De La Beckwith. Vollers, *Ghosts of Mississippi*, 241.
24. See Scott, *Glory in Conflict*.
25. As explained in chapter 2, Kamp was one of the defendants in the Great Sedition Trial of 1944. In the postwar period, Kamp wrote several tracts on Communism, which often implicated Jews as the principal instigators of that political ideology. For more on the career of Joseph Kamp, see Forster, A *Measure of Freedom*, 39–52.
26. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 33.
27. P. A. Del Valle, "How Will the Rightwing Get Together?" *Right* 21 (June 1957): 6.
28. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 982.
29. "Ceremony Marks Merger," *Liberty Letter* 65 (June 1966): 2.
30. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 32.
31. Ibid., 62.
32. "National Writer to Speak at National Defense Seminar," *Liberty Letter* 54 (June 1965): 4.
33. The second part of the program was called the "Government Educational Foundation" and featured numerous speakers, including representatives Don Brotzman (R-CO); Clarence Brown (R-OH); and Delwin M. Clawson (R-CA); Tom Cole (a legislative aide of Senator John Tower); Mark Jones, the president of the National Economic Council; and Representative Joe Waggoner (D-LA). At this session, Willis Carto lectured on the theory and history of pressure groups. Finally, the third part was called the "Liberty Lobby," with Westbrook Pegler acting as the principal speaker despite having broken three ribs in an accident in his home just three days before the event. Other speakers included Kenneth Goff, an ex-associate of Gerald L. K. Smith, and Ned Touchstone. An extreme segregationist and editor of the *Councilor*, Touchstone was a member of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy and had been a featured speaker at several gatherings sponsored by the organization. For more on the event, see Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 982; "Project America: A Three-Part Program for Americans," *Liberty Letter* 42 (April 1964): 2–3; and "Project America—Great Liberty Lobby Victory," *Liberty Letter* 43 (June 1964): 3.
34. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 102.

35. "McNamara Threat to Security Expose," *Liberty Letter* 80 (October 1967): 1.

36. "McNamara Must Go!" *Liberty Letter* 81 (November 1967): 2.

37. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 103.

38. Author interview with Willis Carto, June 24, 2006.

39. "Pueblo 'Deal' Signals Red Policy of Massive Humiliation," *Liberty Letter* 90 (August 1968): 1.

40. "Do Caterpillars Think?" *Liberty Letter* 77 (July 1967): 2.

41. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 116–19.

42. "Measuring Nixon," *Liberty Letter* 94 (December 1968): 2.

43. "President . . . or Politician? An Open Letter to Richard M. Nixon," *Liberty Letter* 95 (January 1969): 2.

44. "Nixon Appointee Opposed," *Liberty Letter* 96 (February 1969): 2.

45. "Far Left Plunge Must be Halted," *Liberty Letter* 97 (March 1969): 1.

46. "Nixon's Hot Problems," *Liberty Letter* 98 (April 1969): 2.

47. "Fulbright Muzzles Critics," *Liberty Letter* 98 (April 1969): 2.

48. "Liberty Lobby 1972 Annual Report."

49. Ibid.

Chapter 9. Youth for Wallace

1. Cox and Durham, "The politics of anger," 296.

2. Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, 139; 296–97.

3. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 65.

4. "Conservatives Have Opportunity to Apply Brakes," *Liberty Letter* 59 (November 1965): 1.

5. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 95–96.

6. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 985.

7. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 21, 2003.

8. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 986.

9. Ibid.

10. "New Youth Group," *Liberty Letter* (February 1969): 3.

11. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 986–87.

12. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 384.

13. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 164.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 166–67.

16. Oliver, *Conspiracy or Degeneracy?*

17. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 172–74.

18. Quoted in Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 989.

19. "Carto-IHR Milestones," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/milestones.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

20. McLemee, "Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby," 24.

21. Quoted in Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 989.

22. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 176.

23. Ibid., 179.

24. "Revilo Oliver on Willis Carto," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/others/701217oliver.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

25. Goodrick-Clarke, *The Black Sun*, 21.

26. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of White Power*, 43.

27. Griffin, *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*, 114–15.

28. Statements by McVeigh seem to indicate that *The Turner Diaries* may have been determinative in his choice of target and his decision to carry out the attack. See Michel, *American Terrorist*, 304. For more on The Order, see Flynn and Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*. For more on the Aryan Republican Army, see Hamm, *In Bad Company*. For more on David Copeland, see McLagan and Lowles, *Mr. Evil*.

29. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 199.

30. Ibid., 201.

31. "Mailing List Indictment Returned," *Washington Post*, October 1, 1971; and "Stolen Mail List Charge Against Rightist Voided," *Washington Post*, December 8, 1971.

32. For more on the Fort Smith Sedition Trial, see Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism*.

33. Ryan, *Into a World of Hate*, 199.

34. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 145.

35. Ibid.

36. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 155.

37. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 145.

38. Ibid., 141, 144–45.

Chapter 10. The *Spotlight*

1. Willis Carto, "The Fight for a Free Press," *American Free Press*, April 12, 2004, pp. B-1–B-4.

2. I am indebted to Michael Collins Piper for this list of books. E-mail from Michael Collins Piper, June 4, 2005.

3. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 65; and "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 9.

4. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 8.

5. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, pp. 10–11.

6. McLemee, "Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby," 24.

7. Buckley, *In Search of Anti-Semitism*, 39.

8. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 127–28.

9. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 7.

10. Buckley, *In Search of Anti-Semitism*, 40.

11. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

12. This is according to a legal complaint Carto filed against some of his former associates, including Mark Weber, Ted O'Keefe, Tom Marcellus, et al. See "Complaint

With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 2.

13. Ibid., 12.

14. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 132.

15. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 25; Schmaltz, *Hate*, 28.

16. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 255.

17. Marks, *Faces of Right Wing Extremism*, 66.

18. Ibid.

19. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 12.

20. Michael Collins Piper, "Spotlight Wins Distinguished Media Award," *Spotlight*, June 12, 2000, pp. 1 & 3.

21. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 2.

22. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 190.

23. See, for example, Stephen J. Martin, "Expansion of Empire & the Death of Free Enterprise," *Barnes Review* 10, no. 3 (May/June 2004): 42–47.

24. "Liberty Lobby Progress Report 1974."

25. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 60–61.

26. Carr, *Red Fog Over America*.

27. See, for example, "A Special Investigation Report from The SPOTLIGHT: The Bilderberg Group," Supplement to *Spotlight*, July 20, 1998; and "'Something Stinks' About Bilderberg Says Liberty Lobby Founder; Discusses History of Group," *Spotlight*, June 12, 2000, pp. 12–13.

28. Probably, the most thorough study of the Federal Reserve System is by William Greider, which includes an examination of its ambiguous government status. See Greider, *Secrets of the Temple*.

29. "Even Today, Truth About Fed Ownership is Denied," *Spotlight*, October 25, 1999, p. 15.

30. See, for example, John Tiffany, "Rabbis Protesting Zionism Worldwide," *American Free Press*, March 31, 2003, p. 15; and M. Raphael Johnson, "Orthodox Jews Protest Sharon's Visit to U.S." *American Free Press*, August 11, 2003, p. 11; "Anti-Zionist Orthodox Rabbi Sends Open Letter to President Bush," *American Free Press*, September 1, 2002, p. 14; "Indefatigable Anti-Zionist Rabbi a Thorn in Israel's Side," *American Free Press*, December 15, 2003, p. 11; and Yisroel Dovid Weiss, "An Orthodox Rabbi Speaks Candidly On the Legitimacy of the State of Israel," *American Free Press*, August 5, 2002, pp. B-1–B-4.

31. See, for example, David Duke, *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question*.

32. See "Liberty Lobby 1985 Progress Report," p. 5; and Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 52.

33. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 158.

34. "Liberty Lobby 1972 Annual Report."

35. Proposition 13 significantly reduced and restricted property taxes in California.

36. See, for example, James P. Tucker, "On the Verge of Collapse?" *American Free Press*, September 8, 2003, pp. 1 & 5.

37. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 282.

38. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 130.

39. Carto's confidant, Lawrence Dennis, once said, Americans are "monodiabolists," that is, they believe in only one devil at a time. Nevertheless, Carto implicates a number of entities in the various conspiracy theories that he advances. Carto, Willis, A., "Toward History," Paper presented at the 1983 International Revisionist Conference I, Los Angeles, p. 5.

40. Author interview with Mike Piper, July 10, 2000.

41. For more on Piper's lecture at the Zayed Center, see Abu Dhabi, "U.S. scribe urges concern for Palestinians," *Gulf News*, March 12, 2003; and Syed Qama Hasan, "Israeli lobby behind Iraq war plan," *Khaaleej Times*, March 12, 2003.

42. Mohammad gained notoriety during the Asian financial crisis in 1997, when he blamed that predicament on Jews. More recently, in a speech presented at an Organization of the Islamic Conference summit in October 2003, Mohammad exclaimed that Jews "rule [the] world by proxy [and] get others to fight and die for them." "Speech by Prime Minister Mohammad Mahathir," http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/malaysian.asp.

43. Snow, *The Militia Threat*, 14–174.

44. Ralph Forbes, "Book Says Stalin Wanted 'the Duke' Dead," *American Free Press*, October 27, 2003, p. 13.

45. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 278.

46.Ibid., 275.

47. Jones, *The Minutemen*, 397–99.

48. Ibid., 321.

49. The ADL sponsored the following 1968 report: Albares, *Nativist Paramilitarism in the United States*.

50. Several top Minutemen were closely tied to Wesley Swift's Christian Identity Church, including Dennis Mower, Walter Peyson, and Keith Gilbert. See Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 57. The late Wesley Swift is thought to be the primary architect and promoter of the Christian Identity religion in the far right movement.

51. Stern, *A Force upon the Plain*, 49.

52. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 94.

53. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 257.

54. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 78.

55. Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 149.

56. Quoted in Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 145.

57. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 294.

58. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 59.

59. The most thorough study of LaRouche and his organization is King, *Lyndon LaRouche*. Also see LaRouche's autobiography, *The Power of Reason*. For more on LaRouche's charges that the British royal crown controls the illicit international drug trade, see Executive Intelligence Review, *Dope, Inc.*

60. King, *Lyndon LaRouche*, 38.

61. Duggan was later arrested and convicted for stabbing a political rival. While in-

carcerated at Rikers Island in New York City, he used a bed sheet to hang himself from a light fixture. King, *Lyndon LaRouche*, 39.

62. Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 25.
63. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 274.
64. King, *Lyndon LaRouche*, 40.
65. Ibid., 43.
66. Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 43.
67. Center for Democratic Renewal, *Ballot Box Bigotry*, 9–11.
68. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 317–18.
69. Quoted in Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 274.
70. "The Limits of Propaganda: Lyndon LaRouche Goes to Jail," ADL Special Edition, May 1989.
71. See Executive Intelligence Review, *The Ugly Truth About the ADL*; and Executive Intelligence Review, *Travesty: A True Crime Story*.
72. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 154.
73. Bellant, *Old Nazis, the New Right*, 67.
74. "True Talks to 'The People's Lobby.'"
75. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 154.
76. Kaplan and Weinberg, *Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*, 95.
77. Bellant, *Old Nazis, the New Right*, 83.
78. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 156.
79. Ibid., 157.
80. "Liberty Lobby 1976 Progress Report."

Chapter 11. Opposition

1. Anti-Defamation League, *Not the Work of a Day*, 5.
2. Ibid., 8.
3. The Leo Frank affair began in 1913 and involved a Jewish factory owner in Atlanta, Georgia, Leo Frank, who was convicted for the rape and murder of a 14-year-old girl, Mary Phagan, who worked at his factory. In this highly charged case, Frank eventually had his death penalty sentence commuted to life imprisonment by then Georgia Governor John H. Slayton in 1915. When word of Governor Slayton's leniency reached the public, an angry vigilante crowd stormed the jail in which Frank was incarcerated, and hanged him. The public in Georgia by and large greeted news of this story with jubilation. The fear that this struck in the local Jewish population cannot be overstated, and the memory of the affair remained vivid for quite some time. It is generally accepted by contemporary historians that Mr. Frank was wrongly accused and convicted of this crime. For more on the Leo Frank affair see Myers, *History of Bigotry*.
4. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 129.
5. Anti-Defamation League, *Not the Work of a Day*, 9.
6. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 129.
7. Anti-Defamation League, *Not the Work of a Day*, 8.
8. Ibid., 14.
9. A number of observers have discerned an alarmist tenor in many of the ADL's publications and pronouncements, and some have noted that the ADL appears to almost jealously control information about the far right. Take, for example, the case of the sociologist James Aho, whose book, *The Politics of Righteousness*, was cause for some consternation to the ADL. Essentially, Aho's research found that most of the far rightists he studied in Idaho did not fit the alarmist stereotype, i.e., that they are poorly educated, marginalized, have unstable family backgrounds, and so forth. Much to Aho's dismay, the ADL, a private group, summoned him to explain his findings and activities. See Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 29; and Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America*, 148.

10. Anti-Defamation League, *Not the Work of a Day*, 15.
11. This information is posted on the <Give.org> Web site, which tracks charities in the United States. See http://www.give.org.
12. Wilcox, "Who Watches the Watchman," 294.
13. Although current survey data point to a continuing diminution of anti-Semitic attitudes among the American public, many Jews have drawn lessons from Jewish history and realize that it can be activated very quickly given a specific constellation of circumstances. Lipset and Raab use a set of three interrelated variables to explain this phenomenon. The first variable is a target factor, a reservoir of anti-Jewish attitudes that exists at any given time. Second is a trigger factor, such as a condition or precipitating event that can transform passive attitudes into action. Finally, there is the constraining factor, or social and political conditions, which repress the manifestation of anti-Jewish activities. See Lipset and Raab, *Jews and the New American Scene*, 69–76.
14. Ibid., 107.
15. See, for example, Anti-Defamation League, *Danger on the Right*; and Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, both of which were published by Random House.
16. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 220.
17. Svonkin notes that the "Studies in Prejudice" research underwritten by the American Jewish Committee in the 1940s found that those people who evinced authoritarian tendencies, such as right-wing anti-Communists, were susceptible to anti-Semitic appeals. Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, 115.
18. Forster and Epstein, *Square One*, 389.
19. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 10.
20. Forster and Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism*, 293–96.
21. See, for example, the ADL special report, "Liberty Lobby: Network of Hate," 1990. For its part, Liberty Lobby occasionally issues critical reports on the ADL, such as its "White Paper on the ADL."
22. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 7.
23. For more on the U.S. Supreme Court's adjudication of controversies involving the extreme right see Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism*, 162–67; and Walker, *Hate Speech*.
24. To my knowledge a thorough study has yet to be conducted on this issue. However, a report prepared for Congress on the role of telecommunications in the commission of hate crimes cites some examples in which the ADL and the Simon Wiesenthal Center made formal complaints to the FCC to remove offensive programming. In these cited cases, the FCC decided that no action was warranted as long as the programming

did not constitute an "imminent danger." See National Telecommunications and Information Administration, *The Role of Telecommunications.*

25. Liberty Lobby, *Conspiracy Against Freedom*, 162.

26. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 258.

27. Ibid., 259.

28. Internal ADL documents, made available as part of the discovery process of a Liberty Lobby lawsuit against the ADL, reveal that the latter exerted substantial pressure on radio station managers. Memos sent to the managers often implied that commercial pressure would be brought to bear against them if they did not stop airing the Liberty Lobby radio program. Liberty Lobby later reprinted these various documents in a book. See Liberty Lobby, *Conspiracy Against Freedom.*

29. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Network of Hate*, New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1990, 14.

30. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 259–60.

31. For more on this campaign, see Liberty Lobby, *Conspiracy Against Freedom.*

32. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

33. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 10.

34. Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 137.

35. "True Talks to 'The People's Lobby.'"

36. Ibid.

37. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 10.

38. "Who's Who to ADL: Anti-Semite's Biography Now Deleted," ADL Press Release, May 30, 1996.

39. "Have You Seen This Man?" Liberty Lobby flyer, n.d.

40. Liberty Lobby, "White Paper on the ADL."

41. Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism.*

42. Author interview with Willis Carto, December 15, 2000.

43. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 373.

44. Michael Collins Piper, "ADL Link to Local Police Agencies Uncovered in Chris Bollyn Affair," *American Free Press*, September 4, 2006, p. 10.

45. Christopher Bollyn, "Bollyn Believes Chertoff Behind Attack," *American Free Press*, September 11, 2006, p. 4.

46. For more on Bollyn's arrest and its aftermath, see Christopher Bollyn, "Honest Journalist Attacked by Cops," *American Free Press*, August 28, 2006, pp. 4–5; and "*AFP*'s Statement on the Dismissal of Christopher Bollyn," October 11, 2006, downloaded from http://www.americanfreepress.net/html/bollyn_dismissed.html.

47. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 5.

48. Quoted in Bornstein, *The Neo-Nazis*, 50.

49. "Dall Sues for $4.4 Million," *Liberty Letter* 39 (January 1964): 4.

50. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 85.

51. Quoted in Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 132–33.

52. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 978–89.

53. Quoted in Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 138–39.

54. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 36–37.

55. "Liberty Lobby 1985 Progress Report," 3.

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56. "Liberty Lobby 1987 Progress Report," 6–7.

57. "Major Media Suppress Historic Trial," *Spotlight*, February 14, 2000, p. 21.

58. Quoted in Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 145.

59. Jason Berry, "The Spotlight's Influence Grows in the Dark," *Extra!* 8, no. 4 (July/August 1995): 14–15.

60. "Truth Hurts Spotlight," *Soldier of Fortune*, October 1995, p. 8.

61. Paul Grubach, "In Defense of Democratic White Nationalism," February 1993, http://www.vho.org/GB/c/PG/LL.html.

62. "Liberty Lobby 1987 Progress Report," 6.

63. "Liberty Lobby 1985 Progress Report," 4.

64. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, iii.

65. Quoted in McLemee, "Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby," 30.

Chapter 12. The Institute for Historical Review

1. This observation is made in Weinberg, "The American Radical Right in Comparative Perspective," 237.

2. For more on Lipstadt's argument, see Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust.*

3. Robert Griffin makes this observation with regard to Dr. William Pierce, but I believe that it applies to many others in the far right as well. See Griffin, *Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*, 259.

4. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 40.

5. Ibid., 41.

6. Piper, *Best Witness*, 20.

7. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 51–52.

8. Bornstein, *The Neo-Nazis*, 45.

9. *Right* 12 (September 1956): 5.

10. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 108–9.

11. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 105.

12. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 183.

13. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 86.

14. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 187.

15. Ibid., 195.

16. Ibid., 181.

17. DANK was also an affiliate member organization of the Coalition for Peace through Strength. A subsidiary of DANK, the Heritage Groups Council for Citizenship Education, is another rightist organization. It was led by Karol Sitko, who was also the organizer of the West German branch of the Western Goals Foundation. The latter organization was virtually a front group for the John Birch Society until the death of its founder, Congressman Larry McDonald. Sitko was supported by the billionaire H. L. Hunt and anti-Communist activist and retired general, John Singlaub. Bellant, *Old Nazis, the New Right*, 43–45.

18. Mintz, *Liberty Lobby*, 187.

19. Bridges, *Rise of David Duke*, 41.

20. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 40.

21. Willis A. Carto, "Understanding the Past: Combating the Purposeful Distortion of History," *Barnes Review* 10 (March/April 2004): 19–21.

22. "Speech by Willis Carto to Liberty Lobby Board of Policy Convention," March 9, 1975.

23. This is according to statements by figures and organizations such as David Irving, Arthur Butz, Robert Faurison, the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and Alan Dershowitz. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 74.

24. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 199.

25. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

26. Gay, *Neo-Nazis*, 62.

27. Willis A. Carto, "Toward History," Paper presented at the 1983 International Revisionist Conference I, Los Angeles.

28. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

29. For more on the wartime memoirs of Rudel, see Rudel, *Stuka Pilot*.

30. Degrelle, *Campaign in Russia*.

31. See, for example, Degrelle, *Campaign in Russia*; Degrelle, *Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS*, Torrance, Calif.: Institute for Historical Review, 1983; Degrelle, *Hitler: Born at Versailles*.

32. Kaplan and Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*, 87–88.

33. For more on the life of Skorzeny, see Infield, *Skorzeny*; Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*; and Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy*.

34. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 186.

35. Svoray and Taylor, *In Hitler's Shadow*, 247–48.

36. Florentine S. Rost Van Tonningen, "For Holland & Europe," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 2 (May/June 1998): 56–61.

37. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 24.

38. Although there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that David Irving sympathizes with elements of the far right's views, he has the reputation of being contemptuous of individuals in the far right. He lamented on several occasions that only they will provide him an audience. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 53. Numerous rightists have described him as "rude" in their interactions with him.

39. George Kadar, "AFP Correspondent Tries to Visit Jailed Historian," *American Free Press*, December 5 & 12, 2005, p. 3; and David Irving, "There Were No Factories of Death," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 23–31.

40. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 105.

41. Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*.

42. Irving, "Foreword," in Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, 6.

43. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 262.

44. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 7.

45. Svoray and Taylor, *In Hitler's Shadow*, 176.

46. See for example, Udo Walendy, "The Trial of Field Marshall von Manstein," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June, 1998): 31–33; and Udo Walendy, "The Soviet 'Discoveries' in Auschwitz," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August, 1998): 3–8.

47. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 206.

48. Institute for Historical Review, *The Zionist Terror Network*.

49. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 16.

50. Piper, *Best Witness*, 6.

51. Ibid., 7–8.

52. Quotes from Carto and McCalden are in Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 205.

53. Piper, *Best Witness*, 29.

54. Ibid., 30.

55. Ibid., 31.

56. Ibid., 41–42.

57. "The IHR vs. Liberty Lobby Fight," *National Alliance Bulletin*, March 1994, pp. 6–8.

58. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 199.

59. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 16.

60. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 199.

61. See Vince Ryan, "Regarding the IHR Controversy," March 4, 1994; and Piper, *The Garbage Man*.

62. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 262. In a conversation I had with Mark Cotterill, once a prominent member of the British National Party, he told me that McCalden was not a homosexual, but that he frequently consorted with prostitutes.

63. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 199.

64. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 262.

65. Piper, *Best Witness*, 147.

66. Ibid., 61–63.

67. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 205.

68. Piper, *Best Witness*, 75–76.

69. Ibid., 89–91.

70. Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 113.

71. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 33.

72. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 11.

73. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 141.

74. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 33.

75. Piper, *Best Witness*, 115.

76. Mark Lane, "Introduction," in Piper, *Best Witness*, iii.

77. The Deposition of Alan M. Schwartz, Director of Research and Evaluation, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, taken on January 16, 1991, by Attorney for Liberty Lobby Mark Lane.

78. Mark Lane, "Introduction," in Piper, *Best Witness*, i–x.

79. Vince Ryan, "Regarding the IHR Controversy," March 4, 1994.

80. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 47.

81. See, for example, Mark Weber, "A Look at The 'Powerful Jewish Lobby,'" IHR pamphlet, n.d.

82. Anti-Defamation League, "Special Edition: Mark Weber: A Career in Bigotry," June 1993; and Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 171.

83. Svoray and Taylor, *In Hitler's Shadow*, 222.

84. "The IHR vs. Liberty Lobby Fight," *National Alliance Bulletin*, March 1994, p. 8.

85. Vince Ryan, "Regarding the IHR Controversy," March 4, 1994.

86. "The IHR vs. Liberty Lobby Fight," *National Alliance Bulletin*, March 1994, p. 8.

87. Ryan, *Into a World of Hate*, 133.

88. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 171.

89. For more on Weber, see Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 162–65.

90. Anti-Defamation League, "Holocaust Denial in the Middle East: The Latest Anti-Israel, Anti-Semitic Propaganda Theme," http://www.adl.org/holocaust/denial_ME/western/deniers.asp, downloaded January 16, 2002.

91. Shortly after the release of his publication, in November 1977, Grimstad registered with the Department of Justice as an agent of the government of Saudi Arabia. In 1982, Grimstad is also believed to have distributed his Holocaust denial books to members of Congress through a Pakistani-based organization, the World Muslim Congress. A similar mailing was sent out to members of the British Parliament in 1981. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 99.

92. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 225.

93. Yaron Svoray presented himself as an American sympathizer to far right causes. He reached out to Mark Weber in an effort to learn more about Carto and expose his Nazi sympathies. Svoray's investigation resulted in much publicity, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center presented the findings of this investigation to the U.S. Congress, the FBI, and German authorities. The meetings with the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Organizations and Human Rights and with German authorities are recounted in Svoray and Taylor's book. Eventually, an HBO movie based on Svoray's story, *The Infiltrator*, was made. See Svoray and Taylor, *In Hitler's Shadow*. For more on the Center's meeting with FBI director Louis Freeh, see the "History of the Simon Wiesenthal" segment on the Center's web site at http://www.wiesenthal.com.

94. ADL Press Release, "ADL Comments on Holocaust Denial Conference Held in Jordan," May 15, 2001.

95. ADL, "Holocaust Deniers to Convene in Lebanon," ADL Press Release, February 11, 2001; and Anti-Defamation League, *Holocaust Denial in the Middle East*.

96. There is some dispute over the translations of Ahmadinejad's comments. Juan Cole, a professor of Middle East and South Asian History at the University of Michigan, pointed out that the idiom "wiped off the map" does not exist in Persian. According to Cole, Ahmadinejad's statement could be more accurately translated to mean that the "occupation regime over Jerusalem must be erased from the page of time." See Juan Cole's website at http://www.juancole.com.

97. "AFP Editorial: Resist the Neo-Cons; Don't Attack Iran," *American Free Press*, April 24, 2006, p. 3. *American Free Press* also reprinted an open letter from President Ahmadinejad to U.S. President George Bush in which he impugned the generally accepted version of the Holocaust and its influence on subsequent world affairs, e.g., the creation of Israel and U.S. support thereof. See "Mainstream Mum on Iran Letter," *American Free Press*, May 22, 2006, pp. 10–11.

98. According to Piper's analysis, Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion was determined to develop a nuclear warfare program in Israel. When President Kennedy resisted the project, he paid the ultimate price. Piper, *Final Judgment*. This theory has gained currency among conspiracy theorists in the Middle East. The fact that Jack Ruby was Jewish is cited often by Arabs and Iranians as compelling evidence that Jews were involved in the JFK assassination. See Pipes, *The Hidden Hand*, 157. In an interview with Michael Piper at his office in the headquarters of *American Free Press*, I noticed an advertising poster for his book *Final Judgment* in Arabic script. He told me that a Middle East distributor had translated it and sold it in the region. He made no mention of the number of sales, claiming that it was not uncommon for books in the region to be pirated, thus making such figures hard to gauge. According to Piper, *Final Judgment* was published in Saudi Arabia in 2007. Author interview with Michael Collins Piper, May 24, 2007.

99. These books include *The High Priests of War*, in which Piper charged Jewish neoconservatives as the principal force clamoring for the war against Iraq. See Piper, *The High Priests of War*. Similarly, in 2005, Piper released another critical study of Jews titled *The New Jerusalem: Zionist Power in America*. Drawing upon secondary sources in Jewish newspapers and journals, Piper asserts that Jews have obtained inordinate power in the United States and use it to further their own group interests at the expense of the national interest. See Piper, *The New Jerusalem*.

100. As proof of their meeting, *American Free Press* carried a photo of Piper meeting with Ahmadinejad. For more on the meeting, see James P. Tucker, "President of Iran Meets with Piper," *American Free Press*, October 2, 2006, p. 3; and Michael Collins Piper, "Iranian President Resists NWO," *American Free Press*, October 9, 2006, pp. 10–11.

101. Nasser Karimi, "Holocaust Conference Begins in Iran," *Washington Post*, December 11, 2006, <www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/11/AR2006121100198.html>. Presenters at the conference came from a variety of countries including Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, Russia, Sweden, Syria, Tajikistan, and Turkey. Islamic Republic News Agency, "Holocaust confab to prepare grounds for scientific research," December 5, 2006, http://www.irna.ir/en/news/view/menu-236/0612055872185206.htm.

102. Carto, "Afterword: Why is 'The Holocaust' Important?" in Piper, *Best Witness*, 227–34.

103. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

104. Quoted in C. R. Allen, "Patrick J. Buchanan: Master Holocaust Denier," *Reform Judaism* (Winter 1996): 23. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 39.

105. In their content analysis, Shermer, Grobman, and Sulloway referred to this category as "revisionism," which accounted for roughly 31 percent of the articles, essays, book reviews, commentaries, and editorials. This was followed by the "Holocaust" category, which accounted for roughly 21 percent. Other categories in the order in which they followed include "Equivalency," a theme which seeks to relativize the Holocaust

to other historical atrocities, "Nazis," "General," "Jews," "World War II," "Fascism," and "Other." See Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 77–80.

106. Anti-Defamation League, *Holocaust Denial in the Middle East*; and Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy*.

Chapter 13. The Populist Worldview

1. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 140.

2. "Speech by Willis Carto to Liberty Lobby Board of Policy Convention," March 9, 1975.

3. Lipset, "Failures of Extremism."

4. Gallagher, "God and Country," 70.

5. Berlet and Lyons. *Right-Wing Populism*, 187.

6. Roger Griffin originally outlined his definition of fascism as the embodiment of an ultranationalist paligenetic myth in Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*. He later buttressed his theory using the paligenetic myth as the leitmotif of an anthology of essays, which he edited, with contributions from both fascists and observers of fascism. See Griffin, *Fascism, Oxford Readers*.

7. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 263.

8. Ibid., xvi.

9. Author interview with Willis Carto, June 24, 2003.

10. Chittum, *Civil War Two*.

11. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, xiv.

12. Ibid., xv.

13. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 188.

14. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 109.

15. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, xv.

16. Ibid., 263.

17. Ibid., xviii.

18. Ibid., xiii.

19. Ibid., xviii.

20. See, for example, Fred Lingel, "Tax Breaks for Small Businesses Help Economy," *American Free Press*, March 31, 2003, p. 5.

21. See for example, "Tariffs: The Answer for Farmers," *Spotlight*, August 30, 1999, p. 8.

22. "Frontiersmen All set to 'Blitz' Senate," *Liberty Letter* 3 (February 22, 1961).

23. For more on Buchanan's economic philosophy, see Buchanan, *The Great Betrayal*.

24. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, xvii.

25. George W. Malone, "We Can Protect Ourselves First," *Right* 40 (January 1959): 4.

26. "One-Way Trade with the Enemy Faces Congress," *Liberty Letter* 73 (March 1967): 1.

27. "Export-Import Bank Bill Covers up Aid to Reds," *Liberty Letter* 75 (May 1967): 1.

28. "Battle-Lines Drawn on Aid to Enemy," *Liberty Letter* 76 (June 1967): 1.

29. Willis Carto, "The Inside Story," in Stelzer, *Free Trade and the Constitution*, 29–42.

30. Stelzer, *Free Trade and the Constitution*.

31. Stephen Scheinberg, "Right-Wing Extremism in the United States," in Braun and Scheinberg, *The Extreme Right*, 64.

32. Tom Valentine, "NAFTA Fallout Bad for America," *Spotlight*, July 11, 1994, pp. 5–6.

33. Jim Tucker, "American Jobs Drain as U.S. Economy 'Gains,'" *American Free Press*, September 15 & 22, 2003, p. 6.

34. See for example, Paul Craig Roberts, "Outsourcing: Do You Know What it Is? It's Bad." *American Free Press*, March 29, 2004, p. 12; and Mark Anderson, "U.S. Workers Outraged Over Outsourcing," *American Free Press*, June 14 & 21, 2004, pp. 1 & 4.

35. See, for example, Robert Grooms, "Racial Views of Early American Socialists," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 67–70.

36. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 283.

37. Bernie Sanders, "Jobs: America's No. 1 Export," *American Free Press*, February 10, 2003, p. 12.

38. See, for example, *Right* 5 (February 1956): 4.

39. "Ideas for Political Action," *Right* 32 (May 1958): 1.

40. "Socialists Plan Labor Government with 14-B Money," *Liberty Letter* 61 (February 1966): 1.

41. "Picket Bill Threatens Jobs; Defense; Higher Cost of Living," *Liberty Letter* 77 (July 1967): 1.

42. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 191.

43. "Right, Left Join to Fight Globalism, *Spotlight*, May 1, 2000, p. 10.

44. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," 989. Tom Marcellus, the former director of the Institute for Historical Review, accused Carto of being an atheist as well. See letter from Elisabeth Carto to Reverend Herman Otten, July 18, 1984.

45. Willis Carto, Introduction to Nietzsche, *The Anti-Christ*, Costa Mesa, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1980, i–xi.

46. Ibid., i–xi.

47. Willis Carto, "Jesus Was God—And A Populist," *Barnes Review*, January 1996, pp. 6–7.

48. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 361.

49. Mike Blair, "Controversial Televangelist Linked to Foreign Deals," *Spotlight*, March 29, 1999, p. 19.

50. John Anderson and Don K. Preston, "Religious Right Leads U.S. Down Path to Armageddon," *American Free Press*, December 1, 2003, p. 12.

51. "New Right Wants 'Populist' Mantle," *Spotlight*, January 2–9, 1984, p. 4, quoted in Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 262.

52. Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 24.

53. See, for example, Dale Crowley, "An Open Letter to Jerry Falwell," n.d.

54. Rittenhouse, *"For Fear of the Jews,"* 169.

55. For more on Rittenhouse, see Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 120–22.

56. "Restore America's Greatness with Stan Rittenhouse Candidate for U.S. President," n.d.

57. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 3–14.

58. Ibid., 17–22.

59. Ibid., 35–44.

60. Ibid., 83–92.

61. Ibid., 125–31.

62. Ibid., 139–51.

63. Ibid., 153–60.

64. Ibid., 163–67.

65. Ibid., 47–63.

66. Ibid., 95–104.

67. Ibid., 187–92. Some of Coughlin's speeches and writings have been reprinted by Carto. See, for example, Charles E. Coughlin, "Roosevelt or Ruin, and the Gold Law," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August, 1998): 61–66.

68. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 217–21.

69. Ibid., 25–32.

70. Ibid., 73–80.

71. Ibid., 65–70.

72. Ibid., 107–12.

73. Ibid., 115–22.

74. Ibid., 133–36.

75. Ibid., 171–84.

76. Ibid., 209–15.

77. "Old Hickory's Farewell Address," *Barnes Review* 10, no. 2 (March/April, 2004): 4–13.

Chapter 14. The Populist Party

1. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 50–51.

2. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 148.

3. Liberty Lobby, *The How.*

4. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 258.

5. Liberty Lobby newsletter from Willis Carto, January 2, 1985.

6. Willis Carto, draft of speech to the Populist Party, 1986.

7. Populist Party fundraising letter, May 20, 1989.

8. Weinberg, "An Overview of Right-Wing Extremism," 19.

9. Cox, "Beyond the Fringe," 301.

10. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 13.

11. James Ridgeway, "Populist Party of the People," 129.

12. Levitas, "Anti-Semitism and the Far Right," 193; Kronewetter, *United They Hate*, 97; and Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 136.

13. As of 2004, Bill Baker was the head of Christians and Muslim for Peace (CAMP). He was once invited by an Islamic student group at the University of Pennsylvania to speak at the institution's Islam Awareness Week. He also appeared at an Islamist conference held in Toronto called "Reviving the Islamic Spirit." In 1998 Baker published a book titled *More in Common Than You Think: The Bridge Between Islam and Christianity*, which, according to his detractors, amounts to an attempt to forge an alliance between fringe Christians and extremist Muslims. See Daniel Pipes, "Canadian Islamists host a neo-Nazi," <WorldNetDaily.com>. January 7, 2004. http://www.danielpipes.org/pf.php?id=1431; and Gil Francisco White, "Islamist-Nazi Alliance Reborn on Campus?" *Daily Pennsylvanian*, November 5, 2003. <www.dailypennslyvania.com/vnews/display.v?ART/3fa8a3666637e>.

14. Zeskind, *It's not Populism*, 6–7.

15. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 196; and Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 136.

16. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 21, 2003.

17. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 196; and Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 136.

18. "Report Proves Party Boss all Wet," *Spotlight*, May 12, 1986.

19. James Ridgeway, "Populist Party of the People, *Village Voice*, October 29, 1985.

20. Joe Brennan, "Populists Meet in Washington, Vote to End Era of Boss Rule," *Spotlight*, February 16, 1987.

21. Michael Collins Piper, "Grass-Roots Populist Leaders Fighting National Level Coup," *Spotlight*, May 12, 1986.

22. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 143.

23. Joe Brennan, "Power Grab by Party 'Boss' Opposed by Populist Leaders," *Spotlight*, August 25, 1986.

24. Center for Democratic Renewal, *Ballot Box Bigotry*, 16.

25. Populist Party Inc., *Newsletter*, February 1989.

26. Michael Collins Piper, "Judge Puts an End to Divisive Activities Within Third Party," *Spotlight*, July 27, 1987, pp. 26–27.

27. The following were listed as officers of the reconstituted Populist Party: Chairman: Tom McIntyre (Penn.); Vice Chairwoman: Maureen Kennedy Salaman (Calif.); Secretary: W. Jerrold Pope (Ken.); and Treasurer: Robert O. Gravely (W.Va.). Members of the new Executive Committee included: A. J. Baker (N.C.), Willis Carto (D.C.), Harriet Crank (Idaho), Frank Janacek (Mich.), Don Kimball (Iowa), Van Loman (Ohio), Michael Collins Piper (D.C.), Fred R. Seipold (Nev.), Bradley Smith (Wash.), Robert Stanford (Calif.), Charles Ulmschneider (Calif.), Don Wassal (Penn.), and Robert Weems (Miss.). Joe Brennan, "Populists Meet in Washington, Vote to End Era of Boss Rule," *Spotlight*, February 16, 1987.

28. Ibid.

29. Minutes of Populist Party of America—National Committee Convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 7–8, 1987.

30. For more on McConkey's alleged wire fraud, see "Use of Bible Code Told in Fraud Trial," *Des Moines Register*, March 11, 1970; "Testifies $100 Loan to D. M. Woman," *Des Moines Register*, March 13, 1970; "Rule Fraud by Miss McConkey," *Des Moines Register*, March 22, 1970; and "5-Year Term in Fraud Case," *Des Moines Register*, May 12, 1970.

31. James Ridgeway, "Populist Party of the People," *Village Voice*, October 29, 1985.

32. Private Correspondence from Michael Collins Piper to Willis Carto, n.d.

33. Levitas, "Anti-Semitism and the Far Right." 193.

34. Also listed on the roster were Jerry Pope of Kentucky, Philip Chesler of Missouri, Willis Carto, A. J. Barker of North Carolina, Charles Ulmschneider of California, Bob

Weems of Mississippi, Maureen Salaman of California, Van Loman of Ohio, Frank Janacek of Michigan, Mary Heiler of Florida, Harriet Crank of Idaho, Jim Yarbrough, and Mike Landis. Harriet Crank, Bradley Smith, Fred Seipold, and Robert Stanford were listed as absent. Minutes of Populist Party National Convention in St. Louis, Missouri, September 6–7, 1987.

35. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 273.

36. *American Free Press* sought to rally support for Representative Jim Traficant (D-OH) when he faced corruption charges. He was defended as a populist who was being persecuted for his occasional criticism of Israel and the defense of his constituent, John Demjanjuk, an elderly Cleveland resident who was accused of being a Nazi concentration camp guard. Demjanjuk was extradited to Israel and convicted, but the Israeli Supreme Court later overturned his conviction and cleared him. The FBI was accused of framing Traficant. James P. Tucker, "Democrats Want Traficant Dead, Politically Speaking," *American Free Press*, February 11, 2002, p. 6; and "Yes. The FBI Framed Rep. Jim Traficant," *American Free Press*, August 12, 2002, pp. B-1–B-4. Once Traficant was imprisoned, the *American Free Press* continued to stand by him and published a letter he wrote to his supporters. Michael Collins Piper, "Jim Traficant Still Popular Despite His Imprisonment," *American Free Press*, May 5, 2003, p. 6. The paper alleged that he was being persecuted for his temerity for speaking out on U.S. favoritism for Israel. Michael Collins Piper, "Traficant in Trouble? Jim Needs Your Help," *American Free Press*, January 31, 2005, p. 6.

37. Neiwert, *In God's Country*, 143.

38. During the 1990s, Gritz was a key figure in the Christian Patriot/Militia movement. He previously offered paramilitary training through his SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) program. In addition, he has endeavored to establish separatist "Christian Covenant communities" on land he purchased on a Native American reservation. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 248–55.

39. Barkun, *Religion and The Racist Right*, 211.

40. "$2 Million in Populist Party Money Missing from Dead Treasurer's FEC Files," *Spotlight*, September 4, 2000, pp. 14–15; Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 137.

41. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 131.

42. Associated Press, "1988 Vote: The Final Word," December 29, 1988.

43. Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 137–38.

44. Barkun, *Religion and The Racist Right*, 212.

45. Ibid., 212.

46. Ibid., 211; Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 357.

47. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 154.

48. Moore, "David Duke: The White Knight," 51.

49. Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 155–56.

50. Quoted in Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 28.

51. Levitas, "Anti-Semitism and the Far Right," 194–95.

52. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 156.

53. Duke, *My Awakening*, 474.

54. Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 113.

55. Ibid., 133.

56. "Spotlight On People," *Spotlight*, February 14, 2000, p. 24.

57. Walker Anderson, "Duke Won't Change His Stripes," *American Free Press*, April 14, 2003, p. 10.

58. Vince Ryan, "Politically Incorrect & Proud of It," *American Free Press*, September 29, 2003, p. 19.

59. See "Duke Homecoming Rally Shapes Up," *American Free Press*, March 15, 2004, p. 19.

60. Over the 2004 Memorial Day weekend, various high-profile far right leaders, including David Duke of EURO, Kevin Alfred Strom of the National Alliance, Willis Carto of *American Free Press*, Don Black of Stormfront, Dr. Ed Fields of *The Truth at Last*, John Tyndall of the British National Party, and Paul Fromm of the Canadian Association for Free Expression endorsed the "New Orleans Protocol." Essentially, the protocol contains three major tenets: a) zero tolerance for violence; b) honorable and ethical behavior in relations with other signatory groups; and c) maintaining a high tone in arguments and public presentations. The protocols were formulated and announced during a conference, which welcomed David Duke from his release from prison.

61. James Edwards, "Gala Hosted by Rejuvenated Duke," *American Free Press*, June 28, 2004, p. 17.

62. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 153.

63. Levitas, "Anti-Semitism and the Far Right," 195–96.

64. Center for Democratic Renewal, *Ballot Box Bigotry*, 17.

65. Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 136.

66. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 250.

67. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 55.

68. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 263.

69. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 252.

70. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 55.

71. Berlet, *Right Woos Left*.

72. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 55.

73. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 251.

74. Populist Party of America, Ford City, Pennsylvania, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the Calendar Year 1988.

75. Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, 57.

76. Letter from Danny L. McDonald, Vice Chairman for the Federal Election Committee, to Donald B. Wassall, Executive Director of the Populist Party of America, December 15, 1988.

77. For more on these court decisions, see Federal Election Commission website. http://www.fec.gov/law/litigation_CCA_FEC_Q.shtml. Downloaded July 6, 2006.

78. Letter from Willis Carto to Eugene McCarthy, January 25, 1989.

79. In one letter, Carto wrote that the time that McCarthy's secretary had initially scheduled for the speaking engagement would be too late. Therefore, Carto suggested that they should try to work out an appropriate date and time for the next year. Letter from Willis Carto to Eugene McCarthy, February 7, 1989.

80. Memorandum from Willis Carto to members of the Populist Party's Executive Committee, March 2, 1989.

81. Letter from Willis Carto to Paul Gann, January 13, 1989.

82. Letter from Willis Carto to Abe L. Austin, February 2, 1989.

83. Program for the National Committee Meeting, March 3–5, 1989.

84. Memorandum from Willis Carto to Don Wassal, July 30, 1988.

85. George and Wilcox. *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 261.

86. "$2 Million in Populist Party Money Missing from Dead Treasurer's FEC Files," *Spotlight*, September 4, 2000, pp. 14–15.

87. He previously offered paramilitary training through his SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) program. In addition, he has endeavored to establish separatist "Christian Covenant communities" on land he purchased on a Native American reservation. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 248–55.

88. Ibid., 265.

89. Ibid., 258.

90. Ibid., 264.

91. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 21, 2003.

92. "$2 Million in Populist Party Money Missing from Dead Treasurer's FEC Files," *Spotlight*, September 4, 2000, pp. 14–15.

93. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 274.

94. "Founding Principles of the America First Party," n.d.

95. *The Keystone Sentinel* 8, no. 5, May 2003.

96. Fred Brown, "After Ross, a rocky road for Reform," *Denver Post*, June 15, 2001, downloaded from <http://colorado.americafirstparty.org/News/2001_06_15DenverPost.html>.

97. Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, 295.

98. "An Interview with Liberty Lobby Founder Willis A. Carto," *Spotlight*, December 4, 2000, p. 11.

99. James P. Tucker, "Ralph Nader Wants to Take on 'Gush and Bore,'" *Spotlight*, September 4, 2000, p. 7.

100. "An Interview with Liberty Lobby Founder Willis A. Carto," *Spotlight*, December 4, 2000, p. 10.

101. "Ralph Nader: Independent," *American Free Press*, September 20 & 27, 2004, p. 12.

102. See James P. Tucker, "ADL Slams Candidate Nader For Comments About Israel," *American Free Press*, July 19 & 26, 2004, p. 5; and "Nader's Open Letter To the Anti-Defamation League," *American Free Press*, November 1, 2004, p. 12.

103. Ralph Nader, "American Military Men No Fans of Bush's Civilian Warmongers," *American Free Press*, January 16, 2006, p. 12.

104. "Ventura Warns Republicans That a New Political Day Has Dawned," *Spotlight*, March 22, 1999, pp. 14–15.

105. "New Reform Party Chairman Calls for Patriots to Enlist In Political Effort," *Spotlight*, August 30, 1999, pp. 6–7 & 9.

106. "Outspoken Nationalist Critic of New World Order Campaigning on Reform Ticket," *Spotlight*, October 25, 1999, pp. 10–11.

107. "Constitutional Party Candidate Speaks Out on Principles, Purpose, Politics," *Spotlight*, December 27, 1999, pp. 18–19; and "Michael Peroutka: Constitution," *American Free Press*, September 20, 27, 2004, p. 15.

108. "Liberty Lobby Endorses Buchanan," *Spotlight*, March 4, 1996, p. 19; Hilliard, *Waves of Rancor*, 142.

109. Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, 245.

110. Ryan, *Into a World of Hate*, 198–99.

111. John R. Moore, "Buchanan Used, Abused Supporters," *Spotlight*, July 6, 1998, p. 21.

112. "Reform Party Hopeful Charles Collins Discusses Restoring the Rights of the People," *Spotlight*, February 14, 2000, pp. 12–13.

113. "How You Can Help Get Pat Nominated," *Spotlight*, February 14, 2000, p. 15.

114. Foster, an educator by profession, was also an anti-immigration activist, a Christian conservative, and affiliated with the John Birch Society. Despite these credentials, the fact that she was black offended the sensibilities of some rightists. Christopher Bollyn, "Buchanan Ready to Send Bush, Gore Running for Cover," *Spotlight*, August 28, 2000, pp. 1 & 3.

115. "Pat Sticks Up for Liberty Lobby on National TV," *Spotlight*, August 28, 2000, p. 3.

116. The Center for New Community was one of the first to report on this story; see Center for New Community, *Party Crashers*. Also see Thomas B. Edsall, "Buchanan's Bid Transforms the Reform Party," *Washington Post*, July 23, 2000, A0, p. 4.

117. Cox and Durham, "The politics of anger," 307.

118. Michael Collins Piper, "Neo-Cons Declare War on Russia," *American Free Press*, March 7 & 14, 2005, p. 14.

119. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 283.

120. Members included Abe Austin, an Illinois businessman; Mike Blair, occasional writer for the *Spotlight*; Ken Bohsack, founder of the Sovereignty movement; Howard Carson, a *Spotlight* distributor; William Gill, president of the American Coalition for Competitive Trade; Body Godlove Jr., chairman of the Populist Party of Maryland; Martin Larson, a contributor to the *Journal of Historical Review*; Roger Lourie, president of Devin-Adair Publishing; Pauline Mackey, national treasurer of the 1988 David Duke Populist Party presidential campaign; Tom McIntyre, national chairman of the Populist Party from 1987–1990; John Nugent, a former Republican candidate for Congress in Tennessee; Lawrence Patterson, publisher of the magazine *Criminal Politics*; Jerry Pope, chairman of the Kentucky Populist Party; John Rakus, president of the National Justice Foundation; Hon. John R. Rarick, a former member of the House of Representatives from Louisiana; Sherman Skolnick, a conspiracy theorist from Chicago; Major James H. Townsend, editor of the magazine the *National Educator*; Jim Tucker, a contributor to the *Spotlight*; Tom Valentine, host of Liberty Lobby's Radio Free America program; Raymond Walk, an Illinois critic of free trade; and Robert H. Weems, founding chairman of the Populist Party. See Berlet, *Right Woos Left*.

121. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 11.

122. There are at least five major reasons for the persistence of the two-party system in the United States. First, there is an historical foundation of the two-party system,

that is, on most major issues confronting the country there have usually been two competing groups; this duality helped to initiate a two-party system and it has endured ever since. Second, political socialization and party identification favor the two-party system; for decades, individuals have not been exposed to anything but a two-party system; therefore, they are not likely to change a system that seems natural to them. Third, the political culture of the United States has been influenced by the concept of individualism, as opposed to collective initiative; many European countries emphasize collective effort and have numerous parties; by contrast, the United States has political culture that has served to maintain a two-party system; both of the parties perceive themselves to be broad enough to accommodate every group in society. Fourth, virtually every level of government in the United States is based on single-member districts and the winner-take-all, plurality principle (the candidate who has received the most votes wins even if he does not obtain a majority); the political party, whose candidates finish behind the winning candidate receive nothing. Finally, current state and federal laws favor the two parties; as long as the Democrats and Republicans are in power at the state and national levels, it is likely that they will continue to pass laws that favor the two-party system, and pass laws that make it difficult for new parties to develop. These factors are enumerated in Schmidt, *American Government and Politics Today*, 270–72.

123. Lipset, "Failures of Extremism."

124. Author interview with Willis Carto, December 15, 2000.

Chapter 15. The Rise and Decline of the Christian Patriot/Militia Movement

1. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 15.

2. Author interview with Michael Collins Piper, July 10, 2000.

3. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 21, 2003.

4. Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 199.

5. "An Interview with Liberty Lobby Founder Willis A. Carto," *Spotlight*, December 4, 2000, p. 9.

6. McLemee, "Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby," 31.

7. Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest*, 29.

8. Coulson and Shannon, *No Heroes*, 192–93.

9. Pat Shanna, "How the Feds Finally Silenced Gordon Kahl," *American Free Press*, June 2, 2003, pp. 1 & 3.

10. "Text of the Final Affidavit of Gordon Kahl," *American Free Press*, June 16, 2003, pp. B-2 & B-4.

11. James P. Tucker, "New Evidence Backs Yorie Kahl's Innocence," *American Free Press*, February 6, 2006, p. 5.

12. The organization used several names, including "the Silent Brotherhood" and a German version of that same title, the *Brüder Schweigen*.

13. David Segal, "The Pied Piper of Racism," *Washington Post*, January 12, 2000, C1, p. 8.

14. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 7.

15. Coulson and Shannon, *No Heroes*, 194.

16. This is according to the statements of Danny O. Coulson, the founder of the FBI's Hostage Rescue Team, who was involved in The Order investigation. Coulson and Shannon, *No Heroes*, 195. According to one estimate, the investigation involved one-quarter of the total manpower resources of the FBI. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 61.

17. This observation is made in Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, *White Power, White Pride*, 193.

18. For more on The Order's donations to the White Patriots Party and WAR, see Miller, *A White Man Speaks Out*. The White Patriots Party dissolved under pressure from federal prosecutors and Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center. WAR continues operations to this day; however, it has lost strength due to a civil suit initiated by Dees.

19. According to an account by Matthews' former lover, Zillah Craig, Matthews stuffed a large amount of money in a paper bag. Later she saw Matthews hand the paper bag to Pierce. Flynn and Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*, 321–22. Soon after the meeting, Pierce paid $95,000 in cash for a 346-acre plot in Hillsboro, West Virginia, on which the National Alliance encampment is headquartered. Marks, *Faces of Right Wing Extremism*, 59. The encampment has accorded the organization a good deal of privacy to go about its business unmolested and away from the watchful eyes of its opponents. A 1987 FBI memorandum on the activities of the National Alliance lamented that, due to the remoteness of the West Virginia National Alliance encampment, "physical surveillance [was] nearly impossible." FBI Internal Memorandum, File Number: 100-487473-53X.

20. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 23.

21. Beam, "Leaderless Resistance."

22. See, for example, "Randy Weaver Talks to Valentine About Freedom, Ruby Ridge Siege," *Spotlight*, August, 24, 1998, pp. 14–15.

23. Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 30.

24. Jim Keith popularized this genre of conspiracy theory with his book *Black Helicopters Over America: Strikeforce for the New World Order*. The *Spotlight* warned that Soviet arms caches were supposedly forwardly deployed by the erstwhile Soviet government and still remained on American soil, possibly to be used another day. Mike Blair, "About Those Black Helicopters . . . " *Spotlight*, July 11, 1994, pp. 13–14. Mike Blair, "U.S. Ignores Warning of Soviet Arms Caches," *Spotlight*, May 1, 2000, p. 5.

25. Mike Blair, "Special Forces Placed Explosives at Waco?" *Spotlight*, October 4, 1999, pp. 1 & 4.

26. Mike Blair, "Evidence Fingers Foreign Gunmen at Mt. Carmel," *Spotlight*, October 4, 1999, p. 3.

27. Christopher J. Petherick, "Were Dead Soldiers Possible Waco Whistleblowers?" *Spotlight*, October 4, 1999, p. 3.

28. According to one researcher, CAN opened intelligence files on nearly 1,500 organizations that it classified as cults, including the Church of Scientology, the Nation of Islam, and Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, as well as far right groups such as the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance. Redden, *Snitch Culture*, 85.

29. According to a sworn testimony, Ross deprogrammed David Block, a former

Branch Davidian, from whom he received information on the allegations of child abuse and firearms violations. Wright, "Construction and Escalation of a Cult Threat," 88–89.

30. Redden, *Snitch Culture*, 87. Redden cites a letter Ross had written to Attorney General Janet Reno, which outlines his extensive contacts with both the BATF and the FBI.

31. Quoted in Nancy T. Ammerman, "Waco, Law Enforcement, and Scholars of Religion," in Wright, *Armageddon in Waco*, 289. The organization dissolved in 1995 after a Seattle jury ordered Ross to pay $2.5 million in punitive damages and CAN to pay $1 million in punitive damages for their conspiracy to kidnap a young man and attempt to deprogram him. Kopel, David B. and Paul H. Blackman. *No More Wacos: What's Wrong with Federal Law Enforcement and How to Fix It*. Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1997, 143.

32. Brin, "ADL travails bring glee," 1.

33. See Michael Piper, "Waco Instigator Identified." *Spotlight*, July 31, 1995, p. 10.

34. For more on this issue see Melton, "The Modern Anti-Cult Movement," 264–89.

35. The Southern Poverty Law Center's publication *False Patriots: The Threat of Antigovernment Extremists* was widely disseminated to law enforcement authorities. Shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, the SPLC released files containing thousands of names of alleged militia members to the FBI. See Wilcox, *The Watchdogs*, 8. For its part, the ADL has issued a number of reports, most notably *Armed and Dangerous: Militias take aim at the Federal Government*, New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1994.

36. During her two terms as a House representative, Chenowith has sponsored and cosponsored several bills and resolutions that resonate with the Militia movement. These initiatives included a hearing she organized entitled "In the Matter of Excessive Use of Government Force"; the cosponsoring of a resolution that would abolish the Internal Revenue Service; and a resolution that would permit the display of the Ten Commandments in government offices and courthouses. See Snow, *The Militia Threat*, 172.

37. Stern, *A Force upon the Plain*, 213.

38. Stern, *A Force upon the Plain*, 213.

39. Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism*, 302.

40. Scheinberg, "Right-Wing Extremism in the United States," 64; and Stern, *A Force upon the Plain*, 92.

41. Quoted in Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 349; Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 4.

42. See, for example, James P. Tucker, "They're Coming After Your Gun—Again," *Spotlight*, August 30, 1999, p. 15.

43. Stern, *A Force upon the Plain*, 134.

44. As described in Kaplan, "Leaderless Resistance," 80

45. See Liberty Lobby, *Survival and Leaderless Resistance*. While not specifically calling for terrorism, the publication reprints an early version of Beam's "Leaderless Resistance" essay and offers tips on survival, physical fitness, creating resistance units, etc.

46. Stickney, *All-American Monster*, 97–100, 158–59. One Michigan Militia member who was present at the meeting told me that McVeigh and Nichols were not well received because of their "extreme racial feelings" and were asked to leave. Author interview with Norm Olson, September 8, 2000.

47. See Jones, *Others Unknown*; and Hoffman, *The Oklahoma City Bombing*.

48. Barreveld, *Terrorism in the Philippines*, 8.

49. Reeve, *The New Jackals*, 82.

50. Ibid., 81–84.

51. Jim Crogan, "The Terrorist Motel: The I-40 connection between Zacarias Moussaoui and Mohamed Atta," downloaded March 14, 2003, http://www.apfn.org/apfn/OKC_motel.htm.

52. "Oklahoma City blast linked to bin Laden," *WorldNetDaily*, March 21, 2001. <http://worldnetdaily.com>.

53. Davis, *The Third Terrorist*, 120–21.

54. Ibid., 34.

55. Jim Crogan, "The Terrorist Motel: The I-40 connection between Zacarias Moussaoui and Mohamed Atta," downloaded March 14, 2003, http://www.apfn.org/apfn/OKC_motel.htm.

56. Eric Boehler, "Did Timothy McVeigh have Iraqi helpers?" <Salon.com>, December 2, 2002.

57. "'Iraqi Connection' Could Point to Mossad Role," *Spotlight*, October 11, 1999, p. 13.

58. Michael Piper, "Neo-Cons Hype New Book Pinning OKC Bombing on Saddam, Osama," *American Free Press*, May 31, 2004, pp. 6–7.

59. Michel and Herbeck, *American Terrorist*, 286–87.

60. Davis, *The Third Terrorist*, 60.

61. See, for example, "Latest Evidence in Oklahoma City Bombing Points to Government Complicity in Massive Cover-Up," *Spotlight*, April 17, 2000, pp. 12–13; and Pat Shannan, "OKC Bombshell Implicates Feds In Murrah Blast," *American Free Press*, January 17, 2005, pp. 1 & 8.

62. "Maverick Journalist Ties Outside Forces to Oklahoma City Bombing," *Spotlight*, July 20, 1998, pp. 12–13.

63. See Hoffman, *The Oklahoma City Bombing*; and Pat Shannan, "Warnings of OKC Bomb Plot Ignored," *American Free Press*, April 4, 2005, pp. 1 & 6–7.

64. Pat Shannan, "Terry Nichols Implicates FBI Informant in Bombing," *American Free Press*, April 11 & 18, 2005, pp. 1 & 9; and Richard Walker, "Congress May Probe OKC Bombing," *American Free Press*, May 30, 2005, pp. 1 & 3.

65. Davis, *The Third Terrorist*, 52–53.

66. Dees and Corcoran, *Gathering Storm*, 152.

67. Hoffman, *The Oklahoma City Bombing*, 45.

68. Stern, *A Force upon the Plain*, 206.

69. See ADL Press Release, "McVeigh Offered Weapons for Sale ADL Reveals," April

27, 1995, http://www.adl.org/presrele/Militi_71/2412_71.asp; and Stickney, *All-American Monster*, 160.

70. Hoffman, *The Oklahoma City Bombing*, 233.

71. Stickney, *All-American Monster*, 159.

72. Michael Fortier and his wife, Lori, were accused of having foreknowledge of the planned bombing and not alerting authorities. Lori Fortier received "use immunity." Jones and Israel, *Others Unknown*, 96.

73. Michel and Herbeck, *American Terrorist*, 170.

74. "Radio Free America: Oklahoma City Bombing Interview with Tom Valentine, July 6, 1997," in Thorn and Guliani, *The Michael Collins Piper Reader*, 201–15.

75. Author interview with Willis Carto, September 3, 2006.

76. For more on Lyons, see Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism*, 144–52; and Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 72–74.

77. "Radio Free America: Oklahoma City Bombing Interview with Tom Valentine, July 6, 1997," in Thorn and Guliani, *The Michael Collins Piper Reader*, 201–15.

78. Michael Collins Piper, "OK Bomb Inquiry Widens," *Spotlight*, July 12, 1999, p. 15.

79. Supposedly, Wassal and Lyons shared a $2.1 million malpractice judgment against another attorney. William Francis, "Why Do the Feds Want To Kill Liberty Lobby?" *Spotlight*, July 12, 1999, p. 16.

80. Occasionally, Carto's newspapers carry critical stories on the Southern Poverty Law Center and its head, Morris Dees. For example, *American Free Press* carried a story that included embarrassing details from Dees' divorce, in which his wife made numerous lurid allegations of homosexuality and sexual misconduct. These documents have been widely circulated in the far right, as they seek to discredit Dees as an opportunist and a charlatan who preys upon easy politically correct targets (extreme right and racist groups) as a way in which to raise enormous funds for the coffers of his organization. "Inside the Sordid World of America's 'Moral Arbiter,'" *American Free Press*, January 19, 2004, p. 12; and James P. Tucker, Jr., "Victim of Smear Campaign Gets Even With Morris Dees," *American Free Press*, April 3, 2006, p. 6.

81. Michael Collins Piper, "Startling Revelations About 1995 OK City Bomb Conspiracy," *American Free Press*, January 19, 2004, pp. 1 & 13.

82. Charles Key, "Why Are Feds Lying About OKC Bombing?" *Spotlight*, October 11, 1999, pp. 1 & 3.

83. See Louis R. Beam, "No Doubts About Government Culpability at OKC," *Spotlight*, October 11, 1999, pp. 5–6; and Louis R. Beam, "Writer Can't Understand Why Public Has Doubts About Federal Culpability at OKC," *Spotlight*, October 25, 1999, pp. 4–5.

84. See, for example, "The IHR vs. Liberty Lobby Fight," *National Alliance Bulletin*, March 1994, pp. 6–8.

85. FBI, "Press Release," October 20, 1999. The FBI released a guide for law enforcement personnel on how to make contact with militia organizations and cultivate relationships with them. See James E. Duffy and Alan C. Brantley, "Militias: Initiating Contact," *Law Enforcement Bulletin*, July 1997. http://www.fbi.gov/library/leb/1997/july975.htm.

86. Mike Blair, "Militia Meets Secretly with Feds," *Spotlight*, April 20, 1998, pp. 1 & 3.

87. Mike Blair, "Former FBI Chief Victim of Poisoning & Cover-Up?" *American Free Press*, March 20, 2006, p. 6.

88. Hall Davis, "Congress Gets Chance to Read Real News," *Spotlight*, June 15, 1998, p. 1.

89. Over the years, Carto has consistently objected to the practice of U.S. foreign aid. For example, a foreign aid bill—S.12159—that allowed the U.S. State Department to distribute foreign aid at its own discretion was described as "treasonable." "Frontiersmen Sneak Treasonable Bill through Senate," *Liberty Letter* 7 (June 15, 1961).

90. Liberty Ledger, 106th Congress—First Session—1999.

91. Mike Blair, "Federals Want Protection From Citizens," *Spotlight*, June 15, 1998, p. 6.

92. See "Foster Murder, OK Bomb News on RFA," *Spotlight*, May 4, 1998, p. 9; and "Key Witness to the Vince Foster Case Says the FBI Manipulated Evidence, *Spotlight*, September 14, 1998, pp. 14–15.

93. "Bill, Hillary Both Longtime CIA Assets," *Spotlight*, February 28, 2000, p. 13.

94. See, for example, Joe Sobran, "President Clinton's Long Rap Sheet," *Spotlight*, April 17, 2000, p. 7.

95. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 6.

96. Hilliard and Keith, *Waves of Rancor*, 225.

97. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 252.

98. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Network of Hate*, 1.

99. Hilliard and Keith, *Waves of Rancor*, 96.

100. Ibid., 53.

101. For more on Valentine, see Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 156–58.

102. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 252.

103. Novick, *White Lies White Power*, 274.

104. Carto, *Populism vs. Plutocracy*, 282.

105. Lööw, "White-Per Rock 'n' Roll," 138.

106. "Present at the Creation," *Intelligence Report*, Fall 2001, <www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=179>.

107. Ibid.

108. Hoffman, *High-Tech Hate*, 70.

109. "Resisting Arrest: Racist Resistance Records isn't slowing down," *Intelligence Report*, Winter 1998, http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=452.

110. Ibid.

111. "Carto Sells the Liberty Lobby List to Todd Blodgett," <http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/business_tb.html>, accessed February 5, 2005.

112. An ADL report estimates that Resistance Records has the potential to draw in one million dollars in sales annually. ADL, "Deafening Hate: The Revival of Resistance Records." <www.adl.org/resistance%20records/introduction.asp>, 2000.

113. According to sources on virtually all sides of the issue, the Militia/Patriot movement is in decline. For example, according to the Spring 2000 issue of the Southern

Poverty Law Center's *Intelligence Report*, the number of militia organizations declined to 217 in 1999, down substantially from its high of 858 groups in 1996. Likewise, Laird Wilcox, who maintains the most comprehensive directory of right-wing groups in America (*Guide to the American Right*), also believes that the movement is quickly losing both members and organizations. Email from Laird Wilcox, March 30, 1999. Finally, Buck Revell, a former deputy director of the FBI, told me in an interview that he also saw a diminution of the Patriot movement. Author interview with Buck Revell, February 16, 2001. It is important to note that while the militia/Patriot movement is in decline, there is evidence to suggest that other segments in the racialist right are growing. The spring 2001 issue of the Southern Poverty Law Center's *Intelligence Report* identified 602 hate groups operating in the United States in 2000, up from 457 the year before.

114. The ADL has taken the lead in sponsoring anti-paramilitary training statutes. The Southern Poverty Law Center also took up the issue.

115. Anti-Defamation League, *The Quiet Retooling of the Militia Movement.*

Chapter 16. Internecine Battles

1. For his part, Carto claimed that he instructed IHR director Tom Marcellus to increase the fire insurance for the LSF (the parent company of the IHR) from $50,000 to $200,000, but the latter had forgotten to carry out the directive. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 17.

2. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 225.

3. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 199–200.

4. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of White Power*, 44–45.

5. Willis Carto, "Three Important Questions and Answers about the Coup d'état at the IHR," n.d.

6. Ibid.

7. "The Mystery of the Edison Millions," *Barnes Review*, <www.barnesreview.org/IHR2/Edison_Millions.htm>, accessed June 20, 2003.

8. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 24.

9. Willis Carto, Memo to Revisionists, July 21, 1994.

10. Willis Carto, "Three Important Questions and Answers about the Coup d'état at the IHR," n.d.

11. "The IHR vs. Liberty Lobby Fight," *National Alliance Bulletin*, March 1994, p. 8.

12. Vince Ryan, "Regarding the IHR Controversy," March 4, 1994.

13. The Foundation to Defend the First Amendment, "Report on the ADL, Mossad and CIA Links to the March 22, 1995 SWAT Team Raid on the Liberty Lobby," Washington, D.C.: The Foundation to Defend the First Amendment, September 10, 1995, p. 2.

14. "List of Spooks Names Allen," *Spotlight*, November 6, 2000, pp. 1 & 6.

15. Gregory Douglas, "Bin Laden's 'Freedom Fighters' Funded, Trained, Armed by CIA," *American Free Press*, October 8, 2001, p. 14.

16. An anti-Scientology website—"exposing the con (lermanet.com)"—echoed these allegations. See for example, "Scientology's Love-Hate Relationship with the 'SPOTLIGHT,' Willis Carto & the 'Institute for Historical Review,'" n.d., http://www.lermanet.com/cisar/carto/, downloaded May 23, 2006.

17. Hubbard, *Dianetics*.

18. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 43; and "The Mystery of the Edison Millions," *Barnes Review*, <www.barnesreview.org/IHR2/Edison_Millions.htm>, accessed June 20, 2003.

19. Letter from Elisabeth Carto to Reverend Herman Otten, July 18, 1984.

20. James K. Warner, "Evidence of Subversion: Strange Facts About the 'New" Institute for Historical Review—-and the Strange People in Charge!" n.d.

21. See, for example, "Internet is Loaded With CoS Info," *Spotlight*, March 29, 1999, p. 6. One article reported that Hollywood star and Scientology member John Travolta allegedly made a deal with President Bill Clinton, in which the former would give a flattering portrayal of a Clinton-like character in his movie *Primary Colors*, which was a fictional story based in large part on the 1992 presidential campaign, if the latter would persuade the German government to recognize Scientology as a legitimate religion and to stop its repression of the organization. See for example, Warren Hough, "Germany Stands Pat on Scientology Judgment," *Spotlight*, April 20, 1998, pp. 20–21; Warren Hough, "UN Report Slaps Cult, Doesn't Find Discrimination," *Spotlight*, April 20, 1998, pp. 20–21; and Robert S. Minton, "What's Scientology-IRS 'Mystery'?" *Spotlight*, July 6, 1998, p. 24. The *Verfassungschutz*, or the Office of the Protection of the Constitution, can recommend to the German judiciary the dissolution of groups that it believes pose a threat to Germany's constitutional democracy. For several years, the Verfassungschutz has monitored the Church of Scientology and has released critical reports on the organization.

22. "Scientology Front Companies," *Spotlight*, February 14, 2000, p. 4.

23. "IHR Update," *Spotlight*, March 22, 1999, pp. 22–23. Like Weber, O'Keefe once worked for the National Alliance. Vince Ryan, "Regarding the IHR Controversy," March 4, 1994.

24. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, pp. 18–21.

25. For more on Carto's version of Farrel's bequeathal, see "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998.

26. Open letter from Michael Collins Piper to Mark Weber, December 1, 2004, http://www.americanfreepress.net/markweberletter.htm.

27. For more on Genoud, see Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy*, 125–26; and Wyden, *The Hitler Virus*, 111–12.

28. "Willis Carto the Ladies' Man," July 28, 1999, http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/news/990728wacwomen.html.

29. Search Warrant for Willis Carto and Henry Fischer, March 17, 1995, http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/950317warrant.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

30. "Henry Fischer: Shadowy Colleague of Willis Carto," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/others/fischer_warrant.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

31. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 25.

32. Search Warrant for Willis Carto and Henry Fischer, March 17, 1995, http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/950317warrant.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

33. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 14.

34. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 226.

35. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 17.

36. Anti-Defamation League, *Hitler's Apologists*, 5.

37. "Carto-IHR Milestones," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/milestones.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

38. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 3.

39. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 226.

40. Mark Weber, "A Response to Recent *Spotlight* Attacks," April 3, 2001, http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/news/010403mwresponse.html.

41. James K. Warner, "Evidence of Subversion: Strange Facts About the 'New' Institute for Historical Review—and the Strange People in Charge!" n.d.

42. The most notable of these books is Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust.*

43. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 34.

44. Quoted in Frank Miele, "Giving the Devil His Due: Holocaust Revisionism as a Test Case for Free Speech and the Skeptical Ethic," *Skeptic* 2, no. 4 (1994): 58–70, downloaded from http://www.mit.edu/activities/safe/writings/holocaust-rev. Carto reprinted this excerpt in an open letter to revisionists to discredit Weber. See Willis Carto, "Memo to Revisionists," July 21, 1994.

45. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, pp. 46–47.

46. Frank Tompkins, "Degrelle's Widow Views Suit," *Spotlight*, July 18, 1994, p. 9.

47. Vince Ryan, "Regarding the IHR Controversy," March 4, 1994.

48. James K. Warner, "Evidence of Subversion: Strange Facts About the 'New' Institute for Historical Review—and the Strange People in Charge!" n.d.

49. "The Mystery of the Edison Millions," *Barnes Review*, <www.barnesreview.org/IHR2/Edison_Millions.htm>, downloaded June 20, 2003.

50. "Report on the ADL, Mossad and CIA Links to the March 22, 1995 SWAT Team Raid on the Liberty Lobby" (Washington, D.C.: The Foundation to Defend the First Amendment, September 10, 1995), p. 2.

51. Search Warrant for Willis Carto and Henry Fischer, March 17, 1995, http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/personal/950317warrant.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

52. Open letter from Michael Collins Piper to Mark Weber, December 1, 2004, http://www.americanfreepress.net/markweberletter.htm.

53. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 106.

54. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 200.

55. Ibid., 200.

56. "The Mystery of the Edison Millions," *Barnes Review*, <www.barnesreview.org/IHR2/Edison_Millions.htm>, downloaded June 20, 2003.

57. Defendants included Mark Weber, Greg Raven, Ted O'Keefe, Andrew Allen, Fritz Berg, John Curry, William Hulsy, Robert Countess, Harvey Taylor, Jack Riner and John Does numbers 1 through 50. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998.

58. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 200.

59. "Will You Help Liberty Lobby?" *Spotlight*, July 19, 1999, p. 20.

60. "America Loses Beloved Patriot," *Spotlight*, December 4, 2000, p. 4.

61. "Judge Says: Seize Liberty Lobby," *Spotlight Emergency Edition*, December 31, 2000, pp. 1 & 3. For more on Liberty Lobby's legal battles with the IHR, see *Spotlight's* December 31, 2000, Emergency Edition; and Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 43–46.

62. Mark Weber, "A Response to Recent Spotlight Attacks," April 3, 2001, http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/news/010403mwresponse.html.

63. Vince Ryan, "Liberty Lobby Down, But Not Out," *Spotlight*, January 1 & 8, 2001, p. 18.

64. Vince Ryan, "Liberty Lobby Takes Action Against Conspirators," *Spotlight*, December 25, 2000, p. 9.

65. Andrea Billups, "Liberty Lobby goes under, ends Spotlight publication," *Washington Times*, July 10, 2000.

66. Sanford Griffith, "Judge Set to 'Liquidate,'" *Spotlight*, July 2, 2001, pp. 1 & 13.

67. For its part, Liberty Lobby has claimed on numerous occasions that ADL operatives orchestrated the dissension within the ranks of the IHR and purposefully designed Liberty Lobby's demise. Although the ADL has fiercely opposed Liberty Lobby over the years, I know of no compelling documentary evidence to corroborate this claim. See Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 43–46.

68. Email from Eric Owens to author, June 19, 2001.

69. Ted O'Keefe, "Exit the Whistleblower: My Fall from Grace at IHR," http://www.vho.org/GB/c/TOK/Whistleblower.html, downloaded February 4, 2006.

70. Ryan, *Into a World of Hate*, 226.

71. "Liberty Lobby's Bankruptcy, the Institute for Historical Review, and Rumors About the Anti-Defamation League," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/news/010620spotlightlist.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

72. "Arrest Warrant for Willis Carto," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/others/swiss_arrest_warrant.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

73. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 93.

74. The ADL put the figure at 6,000, while Liberty Lobby put the figure at 7,500. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 227. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, p. 34.

75. Author interview with Willis Carto, September 3, 2006.

76. Author interview with Willis Carto, July 7, 2006.

77. Lobb, "The Right to Revise History," 206, 209.

78. The newspaper frequently carries articles critical of Jews and Israel. The Committee of Ten Million (COTM) was an umbrella organization founded in the late 1970s by Robert DePugh and the late Robert Shelton, the former leader of the United Klans of America. Headquartered in Independence, Missouri, the chief purpose of the organization was to raise money and issue propaganda that was critical of the media and the federal government. The *Spotlight* occasionally carried stories on the COTM. By the early 1980s, membership is believed to have reached 30,000. For more on the COTM, see Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 153; and Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, 130.

79. During the early 1960s, Warner was active in George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. After breaking away from Rockwell, he joined the National States Rights Party. He once spoke before a meeting of the Populist Party in March 1988 and has allied himself with David Duke. For more on Warner, see Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 159–62.

80. *Sons of Liberty Newsletter* 71 (March-April 1971): 3.

81. Willis Carto, "Three Important Questions and Answers about the Coup d'état at the IHR," n.d.

82. During the early 1990s, Smith, the director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, placed numerous ads for revisionism in campus newspapers around the United States. Some of these student newspapers—including those at Brandeis, Cornell, Tufts, Vanderbilt, the University of Michigan, the University of Arizona, and Wheaton College—actually carried the ads. Gay, *Neo-Nazis*, 63.

83. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 146.

84. "Complaint With Demand For Jury Trial," Liberty Lobby and Willis A. Carto v. Mark Weber, et al., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, January 29, 1998, pp. 51–54.

85. Mark Cotterill, "British Nationalists Wage Counterattack In the Most Recent 'Battle For Britain,'" *Spotlight*, March 22, 1999, pp. 20–21.

86. Ryan, *Into a World of Hate*, 133, 194.

87. Tom Metzger, "Editorial by Tom Metzger," *WAR*, December 1996, p. 2.

88. Ibid.

89. "Tom Metzger's personal exposé of the CARTO/FARREL Affair or WHERE DO ALL DAT RIGHT WING MONEYS GOES????," http://homepage.mac.com/lsf/others/010706Metzger.html, downloaded February 5, 2005.

Chapter 17. The *Barnes Review*

1. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 19.

2. Anti-Defamation League, *Liberty Lobby: Hate Central*, 2.

3. Piper, *Best Witness*, 15.

4. Shermer and Grobman, *Denying History*, 40.

5. Bornstein, *The Neo-Nazis*, 46.

6. Ibid., 47–48.

7. Stephen A. Raper, "The Facts About the Origins of the Concentration Camps and their Administration," *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 11–16.

8. Jennifer White, "Concentration Camp Money: Lagergeld Used to Pay Prisoners for Their Work," *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 7–9.

9. Michael Murphy, "Eichmann: Falsely Accused," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 43–47.

10. Michael Murphy, "Josef Mengele: The Ethics & Practice of Modern Science & Medicine," *Barnes Review* 10, no. 3 (May/June 2004): 30–35.

11. See, for example, Ralph Grandinetti, "The Real 'Final Solution'—Germany's Plan to Resettle Jews in Madagascar," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 24–30; Ralph Grandinetti, "Germany's Plan to Resettle Jews in Madagascar," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 19–25.

12. John Tiffany, "What Do 'Holocaust Deniers' Deny? And What Do They Admit About the Holocaust?" *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 71–73.

13. David Hoggan, "The Truth About the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials," *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 47–49.

14. Fred Blahut, "Anne Frank—The Untold Story," *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 51–52.

15. Michael Collins Piper, "Are You Tired of Hearing About 'The Holocaust'?" *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 25–31; and Michael Collins Piper, "Exploiting 'The Holocaust' For Power & Profit," *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 65–70.

16. Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life* was the first extensive study that explored this issue. It was followed about a year later by Norman Finkelstein's *The Holocaust Industry*, which is much more strident in tone. Although Jewish, Finkelstein is an outspoken critic of Israeli policies toward Palestinians. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*; and Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*.

17. See, for example, Paul Fromm, "The Persecution of Revisionists in Canada," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 71–75; Germar Rudolf, "Censorship in 'Democratic' Germany Today," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 39–46; Germar Rudolf, "Exposing the Despicable State of Civil Rights in Germany Today," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 4–11; George Kadar, "Ernst Zuendel: Letters from the Cell Block," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 32–34; Willis A. Carto, "The Winter Offensive," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 3; John Tiffany, "Revisionist Revolt," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 3 (May/June 2006): 23–24; and Frederick Töben, "Germar Rudolf's Ordeal," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 3 (May/June 2006): 25–26.

18. John Tiffany, "Martyrs & Heroes: 'Thought Criminals' in History," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006), 3 & 22.

19. Karl Bruhin, "Swiss Get Back Up After Bronfman and Jewish Congress Push Too Hard," *Spotlight*, April 20, 1998, pp. 10–11.

20. Robert Faurisson, "UN Enacts Ban on Revisionism," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 4–5.

21. Geoffrey Muirden, "The Tasmanian Genocide: An Australian Revisionist Takes a Hard, New Look," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 3 (May/June 2003): 75–76.

22. R. N. Terrall, "Stalin's Ethnic Roots," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 3 (May/June 2003): 71–73.

23. Daniel W. Michaels, "The Truth About Stalin's Alleged Anti-Semitism," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 5 (September/October 2000): 13–18.

24. See, for example, M. Raphael Johnson, "Ivan IV—A New Look at the Czar They Call 'The Terrible,'" *Barnes Review* 6, no. 5 (September/October 2000) 4–11.

25. R. N. Terrall, "The Hidden Factors Behind the Pogroms of Old Russia," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 49–53.

26. See, for example, H. Verbecke, "Is the Entire Jewish Population Guilty for the Slave Trade?" *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 35–39.

27. See, for example, E. Michael Jones, "Sex, Revolution & Political Control," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 9–17.

28. Alexander Jacob, "Is the Jewish 'Survival Strategy' A Threat to Western Society?" *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 21–27; and Robert K. Logan, "From Holocaust to Hog Heaven: A Look at 'The Jewish Century,'" *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 64–68.

29. Alexander Jacob, "Is the Jewish 'Survival Strategy' A Threat to Western Society?" *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 23. Kevin MacDonald is a professor of psychology at California State University at Long Beach. In a trilogy of books, MacDonald advances an evolutionary theory to explain both Jewish and anti-Semitic collective behavior. Rejecting conventional theories, MacDonald believes that psychological research on social identity theory provides an adequate explanation of the dynamics of anti-Semitism. Essentially, he argues that Jewish ethnocentrism, especially in the context of economic or other forms of competition, has produced a heightened sense of group identity in the various gentile populations among whom Jews have lived. Consequently, anti-Semitic mass movements develop in large part as a reaction to successful Jewish group evolutionary strategies. Over the past few years, his research has gained attention, mainly on the Internet. Although still a relatively obscure figure, MacDonald seems to have made his most major impact on the intellectual currents of what is often referred to as the "far right." See MacDonald, *A People that Shall Dwell Alone*; MacDonald, *Separation and Its Discontents*; and MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique*. For a synopsis of MacDonald's research and the response thereto, see Michael, "Professor Kevin MacDonald's Critique of Judaism," 779–806.

30. See, for example, Harrell Rhome, "Zionism, Islam, & the West: The Inevitable Conflict," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 33–36; Russell Granta, "The Fraud of Zionism," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 5 (September/October 2000): 41–46; Virginia Oldham, "Zionist Terrorism Against Palestine and Lebanon," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 51–54.

31. John Tiffany, "The Myth of the Wailing Wall," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 56–60.

32. On Liberty Lobby's perspective on the attack on the USS *Liberty*, see, for example, Michael Collins Piper, "Israeli Attack on the U.S.S. Liberty," in Thorn and Guliani, *The Michael Collins Piper Reader*, 17–23.

33. See, for example, Romeo Stana, "Stabbed in the Back: The Saga of the USS Liberty," *Barnes Review* 10, no. 3 (May/June 2004): 55–60; and Romeo Stana, "The Knife Twists: the Saga of the USS Liberty, *Barnes Review* 10, no. 3 (May/June 2004): 61–68. In June 2003, the *American Free Press* included a four-page "press report" on the attack and its survivors: "Remember the USS Liberty," *American Free Press*, June 23, 2003, pp. B1–B4.

34. Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, 253.

35. Victor Ostrovsky, "An Inside Look at the World's Most Ruthless Intelligence Agency," *Barnes Review*, no. 12, (September 1995): 11–20.

36. See Ostrovsky and Hoy, *By Way of Deception*; and Ostrovsky, *The Other Side of Deception*.

37. Raphael M. Johnson, "The Jewish Declaration of War on Nazi Germany: The Economic Boycott of 1933," *Barnes Review* 7, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 41–45.

38. See, for example, John Tiffany, "Prussia: The Rise and Fall of a European Superpower," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 17–24; Frank Jackson, "Otto von Bismarck: Welfare Statesman," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 46–47; and Frank Jackson, "Profiles in History: Bismarck," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 4 (July/August 2003): 10.

39. See, for example, Christine Kluge, "The Aerial Bombardment of German Cities," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 2 (March/April 1998): 30–31.

40. See, for example, Christian Borleis, "The Worst Atrocity of World War II," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 5 (September/October 2000): 3; Bishop A. J. Muench, "Mass Expulsions: Tragedy on a Prodigious Scale," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 5 (September/October 2000): 27–30; Max J. Schindler, "Czechs and Germans—Their Real History," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 41–45; and Vivian Bird, "Postwar Crimes—Defenseless Refugees Were Massacred," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 47–48.

41. See, for example, Michael McLaughlin, "Six Million Brush Fires Out of Control," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 3; McLaughlin, "Adolf Hitler: More Respected by His Contemporaries Than We Have Been Told," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 4 (July/August 2003): 71–74.

42. See, for example, Frank Thayer, "The Role and Status of Women in Hitler's Germany," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 45–48.

43. Thomas D. Schwartz, "The National Socialist Stand on Christianity," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 55–57.

44. Richard Landwehr, "Hitler's Fighting Frenchmen," *Barnes Review*, no. 12 (September 1995): 27–31.

45. Michael McLaughlin, "The Epic of Vidkun Quisling," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 4–13.

46. M. Raphael Johnson, "Horthy in His Own Words," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 4 (July/August 2003): 51–53.

47. Robert K. Logan, "The Peróns: Argentina's Populist Power Couple," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 4–8.

48. See, for example, G. Wilhelm Kunze, "The German American Bund—Fact & Fiction," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 49–54; and Ralph Townsend, "Sedition Then & Now," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 55–57; Michael Collins Piper and Ken Hoop, "A Mockery of Justice—The Great Sedition Trial of 1944," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 4–20; Michael Collins Piper, "The

Pro-Peace Women of the American Far Right," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 21–26; Michael Collins Piper, "Montana's Role in the Non-Interventionist Movement," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 27–29.

49. See, for example, George Fowler and Vivian Bird, "D-Day Training Disasters—The Crusade in Europe Cover-Up," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 3–11; Alex S. Perry, "Eisenhower: The Military 'Wizard' & the Normandy Invasion," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 3 (May/June 2003): 19–24.

50. Michael Collins Piper, "The Making of Woodrow Wilson—An American Nero?" *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 5–12.

51. See, for example, Tom Rose, "The Origins of the U.S. Central Banking System," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 39–51; and Tom Rose, "The Sinister Role of the Federal Reserve," *Barnes Review* 10, no. 3 (May/June 2004): 48–54; Gordon Leitch, Jr., "Understanding America's Monetary System & How It Has Been Undermined," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 31–37; and Tom Rose, "90 Years Going Strong & No Signs of Stopping: An Evaluation of the Federal Reserve," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 4 (July/August 2003): 15–17.

52. See, for example, Vivian Bird, "Churchill Revealed as Liar," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 2 (March/April 1998): 57–58.

53. See for example, Michael Collins Piper, "FDR & Yalta," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 30–35; and Edmund Malnasi, "Three Presidents: Wilson, Roosevelt, & Eisenhower," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 4 (July/August 2003): 55–59.

54. Michael Collins Piper, "Mob Connections Helped Paved Way to White House for FDR," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 51–56.

55. Michael Collins Piper, "Al Capone: The Man and the Myth," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 3 (May/June 2003): 4–8.

56. "59 Years Later, Reputations Restored," *Spotlight*, November 13, 2000, p. 8.

57. See, for example, M. Raphael Johnson, "Nationalism & Ethnic Conflict," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 37–38; and Kenneth J. Schmidt, "Populist Nationalism Developing Across the Western World," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 3 (May/June 2003): 15–18; M. Raphael Johnson, "Foundational Nationalism: Bosanquet's Theory of the State," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 63–67; M. Raphael Johnson, "Johann Herder: The Ethno-Nationalist Theory of History," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 4 (July/August 2003): 19–23.

58. In this regard, the *Barnes Review* reprinted a speech against imperialism by the famed populist William Jennings Bryan. See William Jennings Bryan, "Imperialism is not the American Way," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 13–14.

59. See, for example, George Fowler, "Quantrill—Daring Patriot or Scoundrel?" *Barnes Review*, no. 12, (September 1995): 34–35.

60. Michael Collins Piper, "Profiles in History: Franklin J. Moses," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 52–55; Clint Lacy, "Abraham Lincoln's Overthrow of the Missouri Government, *Barnes Review* 12, no. 2 (March/April 2006): 41–45; Sam Dickson, "Shattering the Icon of Lincoln," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 6–17; and John Tiffany, "The Real Lincoln: Making Hamburger Out of Sacred Cow," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 18.

61. See, for example, Charley Reese, "April is Confederate History Month—A Time to Remember Proud Heritage of Southerners," *Spotlight*, May 1, 2000, pp. 18–19.

62. "Ignorance Generates Flag Flap," *Spotlight*, February 14, 2000, p. 18.

63. M. Raphael Johnson, "Simon Girty and the American Racial Question," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 15–19.

64. Sidney Secular, "Whites in Bondage: An Uncensored History of the Victims of the Barbary Slaves," *Barnes Review* 12, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 20–27.

65. Robert Logan, "Hispaniola: A Case History in Multicultural Madness," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 14–17.

66. See, for example, Deirdre Fields, "Are Conditions in South Africa Better Than Before?" *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 59–62; Robert Logan, "The New South Africa," *Barnes Review* 10, no. 2 (March/April 2004): 14–18.

67. Jaap A. Marais, "The Trail of the 'Wind of Change' Speech; The Effects of Harold MacMillan's Speech of February 3, 1960," *Barnes Review* 6, no. 5 (September/October 2000): 57–66.

68. See, for example, Vera Stark, "Where was the Ancient Homeland of the Proto-Indo-European People?," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 57–60.

69. Vera Stark, "The Early Development of Northern Europe," *Barnes Review* 5, no. 6 (November/December 1999): 65–68.

70. John Tiffany, "The Scythians: Nomads of the Steppes," *Barnes Review* 4, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 13–18.

71. "Amazing Undersea Structures Off the Cost of Japan," *Barnes Review* 8, no. 6 (November/December 2002): 68.

72. John Tiffany, "The Amazing Jomon: Advanced Culture of Old Japan," *Barnes Review* 9, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 35–36.

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146. Michael Collins Piper, “Israel Give Up Your Nukes,” *American Free Press*, January 23, 2006, p. 12.

147. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 7, 2003.

148. Mearsheimer and Walt, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy.”

149. “On Israel, Harvard and David Duke,” *Washington Post*, March 26, 2006, B05.

150. Jeff Jacoby, “America takes side of Israel,” *Boston Globe*, March 26, 2006, <www.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2006/03/26/america_takes_side_of_israel/>.

151. Michael Collins Piper, “Harvard Professor Slams Israeli Lobby,” *American Free Press*, April 10, 2006.

152. See, for example, James P. Tucker, “PATRIOT Rebellion Grows,” *American Free Press*, May 5, 2003, pp. 1 & 3; and John Tiffany, “Patriot Revolt Grows,” *American Free Press*, January 25, 2005, pp. 1 &3.

153. “Inspector General Report Blasts FBI Immigration, Prisons Over Treatment of Civilian Detainees,” *American Free Press*, June 23, 2003, pp. 10–11.

154. Robert A. Levy, “Jose Padilla: No Charges, No Trial—Just Jail,” *American Free Press*, February 16, 2004, p. 15.

155. “Michael Chertoff, J.D., Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice, to Deliver Keynote Address at Seton Hall University School of Law Commencement,” May 24, 2002, <http://domapp01shu.edu/depts/special%20programs/pressrelease.nsf/f7b9c5bae1fc659852569d>.

156. Michael Collins Piper, “Proposed New Homeland Security Czar Gave Free Pass to Foreign Spies in America,” *American Free Press*, January 24, 2005, p. 18.

157. James P. Tucker, “Chertoff Ok's Torture,” *American Free Press*, February 14, 2005, pp. 1 & 3.

158. “Torture Policy at Heart of Gonzales Debate,” *American Free Press*, February 14, 2005, p. 12.

159. Richard Walker, “U.S. Exports Torture Palaces to Europe,” *American Free Press*, December 5 & 12, 2005, p. 11.

160. Michael Collins Piper, “Plan Aims to Ban Criticism of Israel at Universities,” *American Free Press*, May 12, 2005, p. 12; and Michael Collins Piper, “Pro-Israel Lobby Scrambles to Squelch Uproar Over Latest Censorship Scheme,” *American Free Press*, May 19, 2003, p. 5.

161. Michael Collins Piper, “New Bill in Congress Targets Teachers Who Dare to Question US Support for Israel,” *American Free Press*, March 29, 2004, pp. 1 & 3.

162. Michael Collins Piper, “Congress Acts to Censor Academics Who Criticize Government Policy,” *American Free Press*, May 15, 2006, p. 6.

Chapter 19. Conclusion

1. Lipset and Raab, *The Politics of Unreason*, 499–506.

2. Author interview with Willis Carto, June 24, 2003.

3. Ibid.

4. Leonard Zeskind makes this observation in the essay “Redefining America” in the Southern Poverty Law Center's spring 1999 *Intelligence Report*. Somewhat related to this issue, in their survey of individuals in the white separatist movement, Dobratz and Shanks-Miele found that respondents asserted that their movement grows in hard economic times. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, *White Power, White Pride!* 23.

5. James P. Tucker, “Deficits May Trigger Finance Crisis,” *American Free Press*, January 2 & 9, 2006, p. 3.

6. Samuel Huntington, “The Hispanic Challenge,” *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2004, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=2495etseq., p. 1

7. Huntington, *Who Are We?* 143.

8. Huntington, *Who Are We?* 310–13.

9. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen*, 263.

10. Ibid., 255.

11. Author interview with Willis Carto, May 15, 2003.

12. Author interview with Willis Carto, June 24, 2003.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. A list of the entities at one time or another controlled by Carto includes *American Free Press*; American *Mercury*; Atlantic Fixtures; *The Barnes Review*; Committee to Defend Liberty Lobby; Cordite Fidelity; Foundation to Defend the First Amendment; Friends of the Constitution; Friends of Liberty Lobby and the *Spotlight*; Government Education Foundation; Herford Corporation; Hilltop Partners; Historical Education Foundation; Institute for Historical Review; Liberty Life Line Foundation; Liberty Lobby; Liberty Trust; NECA Corporation; the *Spotlight*; and Vibet Corporation

16. As Samuel Huntington pointed out, the concept of American national identity has evolved during the country's history. British settlers in America initially defined themselves in terms of race, ethnicity, culture, and religion (sectarian Protestantism). A political or creedal component consisting of the principles of liberty, equality, democracy, and civil rights was included in the eighteenth century to justify independence from England. By the end of World War II, the ethnic component had dissipated as large numbers of southern and eastern European immigrants had assimilated in American society. The civil rights movement and the Immigration Act of 1965 would eventually efface the racial component as well. Currently, the cultural component is under heavy attack by a generalized movement known as multiculturalism. Consequently, soon only the creedal component may be all that remains of the American national identity. For Huntington this development has very serious implications, as he believes that it is highly improbable that a nation can be defined by an ideology or creed alone and long survive. Huntington, *Who Are We*? 38.

17. A neo-Nazi theorist, Martin Kerr, argued that racialist organizations in the United States have been unsuccessful primarily because the country lacks a "folk," which he defines as a "population with certain distinguishing characteristics: members of the folk must belong to the same race; they must share a common language, a common history, a common culture, and common folk-traditions. They must be rooted in a common geographic area which belongs to them." Inasmuch as the United States has never developed a folk comparable to the various ethnic groups in Europe, the population has generally not been receptive to nationalist appeals based on race or ethnicity. Kerr, *Some Thoughts on the Formation of an Aryan American Folk*.

18. For more details on Pierce's organization, see Michael, "The Revolutionary Model of Dr. William L. Pierce." As mentioned earlier, Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy once reached 20,000 members, and the *Spotlight*'s subscription base reached 330,000.

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